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ABSTRACT

A study utilized survey and case-study techniques supplemented by examination of documents to facilitate a sociopolitical investigation of the concept and role of ethnic teacher aides in state schools in Victoria, Australia. A theoretical framework was developed, combining an historical sociology of knowledge with a systems management perspective. The sample consisted of personnel in schools with high percentages of migrant students, persons with political influence on educational policy, and persons and groups interested in educational policy. Data indicated: (1) there was no coherent policy or program involving ethnic teacher aides; (2) uncertainty surrounded the number of ethnic teacher aides and the duties expected of them; (3) aides were expected to undertake many tasks, without clear guidelines concerning aide training and use; (4) the concept of ethnic teacher aides differed between primary and post-primary levels of schooling, despite considerable commonality concerning the role of aides; and (5) although there was confusion about the concept and role of ethnic teacher aides and disagreement concerning teacher professionalism and aide unionization, opinion strongly favoured continued use of ethnic teacher aides. A number of implications and recommendations arose from the findings. Forms, letters, and a list of persons participating in the study are appended. (Author/CM)

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LA TROBE UNIVERSITY

A SOCIOPOLITICAL STUDY OF THE CONCEPT AND ROLE OF ETHNIC TEACHER AIDES IN VICTORIAN STATE SCHOOLS

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RESEARCH REPORT

COMPILED BY: Dr. L. Foster and Dr. D. Stockley

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This Project was supported by a grant from the Education Research and Development Committee, Commonwealth of Australia.

ABSTRACT

The study was a sociopolitical investigation of the concept and role of ethnic teacher aides in Victorian state schools. A theoretical framework was developed which combined an historical sociology of knowledge with a systems management perspective. This framework was designed to accommodate both below surface analysis and the political character of all research in the area of multiculturalism and multicultural education. The methodology employed in the study was multi-faceted including survey and case-study techniques supplemented by examination of documents. Survey data were subjected to computer analysis. Some of the major findings were (1) there is no coherent policy or program involving ethnic teacher aides in Victorian state schools, (2) uncertainty surrounds both the number of ethnic teacher aides and the duties expected of them, (3) ethnic teacher aides are expected to undertake a multitude of tasks, many of them not specially 'ethnic' in character, without clear guidelines as to how aides should be trained and used, (4) the concept of ethnic teacher aides differed between the primary and post-primary levels of schooling although there was considerable commonality of role of ethnic teacher aides at both levels, (5) although there was confusion about the concept and role of ethnic teacher aides and although there were tensions such as with teacher professionalism and aide unionization, the consensus of opinion was strongly in favour of the continued use of ethnic teacher aides in Victorian state schools. Arising from these findings, a number of implications and recommendations were derived.

FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Centred on a detailed case-study of a recent development in Australian education, the true value of the project lies less in the analysis of the role of Victorian ethnic teacher aides per se and more in the many vitally important macro-considerations upon which it sheds light. Major ramifications include the fact that, in practical terms, little is yet known of the initiation and diffusion of innovations in Australia, whilst the potential for unionisation of (ethnic) teacher aides raises complex questions about the boundaries between teaching and non-teaching assistance: questions which are immediately relevant in a time of widely-predicted over-supply of teachers. Furthermore, current embryonic disputes over the functions, salaries and qualifications of ethnic teacher aides is a microcosm of a wider doubt over the responsiveness of Australian education to the realities of a multicultural society. In turn, all of the above issues arousing concern at the community level are related to the present debate over educational accountability in Australia, and emphasise the need for systematic research, along the lines we present in this project, to monitor changes in education.

In more precise terms, the project has two closely related aims:

(i) To study the concept of ethnic teacher aides, the policy-making processes involved in the implementation and dissemination of the concept and the problems of accountability, authority and demarcation associated with the innovation in Victorian schools.

(ii) To examine the role of ethnic teacher aides by means of (a) comparing actual and perceived functions of aides, using aides themselves as respondents, (b) obtaining the perceptions of interested groups e.g. Department officials, teacher unions, parent and ethnic associations, of the functions of aides and (c) making comparisons between (a) and (b) and within (a) and (b). Analysis of these comparisons is designed to look for possible differences within and among groups and thus, to aid description and explanation of the current complex situation.

In summary, the project is breaking new ground with respect to the area covered, the theoretical interest of the study which entails an historical-sociology of knowledge framework for analysis, and the methodology utilizing a range of data-gathering instruments and techniques. As well, the project bears very strongly on issues of current practical importance within the broader Australian education context.

This study was made possible by the assistance of many others. We are indebted to:

(a) Participants:

(i) We were gratified by the willingness of school administrators to offer facilities to enable the data to be gathered. Our sincere gratitude also is expressed to all principals, teachers and aides who gave time and effort to the completion of our research instruments.

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(iii) To our interviewees amongst Federal and State politicians, public servants, professional, ethnic, parent and union organizations we owe a very large debt of gratitude.

(b) Research Assistants:

We were fortunate to have the assistance of Mrs. Fleur Spitzer, Mrs. Rosemary Wright and Mrs. Sandra Tants for much of the field work for the study. Their systematic and interested approach was essential to the success of the data collection phase. Mrs. Di Worrell also assisted in the computing phase of the study.

(c) The Dean and other staff of the School of Education at La Trobe University:

We were at all times assured of our colleagues' interest and support including supplementation of research funds to the extent of $2,000 approximately.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In our view, the recent emergence of multiculturalism as a focus of political and cultural debate and of increasing pressures to translate that concept into multicultural policy, especially in the institution of education, have received insufficient rigorous and systematic inquiry. One particular aspect of the debate and its associated pressures is ethnic participation in the educational workforce, for here we may be able to see some of the social and cultural dilemmas in microcosm.

Adaptation or accommodation to 'multiculturalism' in the educational sphere may be an indication of social change in the broader social context. For example, the Galbally Report presented in 1978, and accepted *in toto* by the federal government at that time, gave its support for a 'multicultural Australia' in the following words[1]:

> We recognise the extensive cultural and racial diversity existing in Australia ... We are convinced that migrants have the right to maintain their cultural and racial identity and that it is clearly in the best interests of our nation that they should be encouraged and assisted to do so if they wish.

Also, the recent Review of Multicultural and Migrant Education by the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (itself a consequence of the implementation of the Galbally Report) urges that[2]

> ... all Australians be afforded equality of opportunity to participate in the life of the nation and maintain their ethnic and cultural heritage within the law and the accepted political framework.

These public expressions of support for a society which operates in terms of multiculturalism should be subject to careful scrutiny. The inevitable question is how far do these expressions embody myth or reality.

The multicultural/multilingual nature of Australian society is reflected in sharp relief in the nation's school system, especially the range of state systems. An increasing number of schools are having to accommodate to students whose cultural and language backgrounds reveal varying degrees of difference from dominant Anglo-Australian cultural and linguistic traditions. Examples of adaptations to ethnolinguistic diversity are to be found in curriculum (Teaching English as a Second Language and Community Language Programs), practices (the celebration of National Days and Festivals other than those associated with Australia's historical, social and cultural roots), employment of bilingual personnel (bilingual teachers, interpreters, translators, ethnic teacher aides), and recognition of the special needs of ethnic groups in the school's community (the setting up of ethnic school councils or committees within school councils).

The present study delimited an examination of ethnic personnel in education to the comparatively recent phenomenon in Australia of ethnic teacher aides. It was considered desirable to avoid charges of ethnocentrism by firstly exploring issues and concerns over teacher aides (and specifically ethnic teacher aides) as they are discussed in overseas research literature. Only then, was the Australian, and more particularly, the Victorian scene reviewed.

To achieve these two aims, a computer-assisted library search of overseas data bases was undertaken, followed by a conventional survey of the Australian literature. In the former search, the overwhelming number of entries referred to the United States and Canada. Because of limits on time and money, further searches in the British literature were not continued. The general trends resulting from these literature reviews are summarized below.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

There are two overriding themes expressed in the North American literature on teacher aides.[3] These are

(1) the rapid development of the utilization of paraprofessionals in the schools into a significant movement in education and

(2) the unresolved conflict over the need to identify criteria for distinguishing between tasks that are professional and paraprofessional.

These themes are linked, in a socio-historical sense, to broader characteristics of public education in Western countries since 1945. The decades since World War II have witnessed an unprecented dependence on education as a major tool of progress and social change. The rhetoric of politicians and educators can be reduced in simplistic terms to slogans focussing on universal secondary education (or even college education), education as the means of eradicating racial, ethnic, class and social inequality, education as the great insurance against war and other forms of aggression between countries and against boredom, suppression of creativity and happiness in the individual. In spite of massive investment in formal education, the countries of the West have one by one admitted that their utopian vision has not been realized.

However, if all of the above aims have not been achieved, the impetus to reach and teach the disadvantaged in society has been sustained perhaps longer than many of the other aims. So it was that in the mid 1960's in the United States and the early 1970's in Canada, interest in the utilization of paraprofessionals was expressed. That is, as faith in the massive increase in expenditure in education which seemed to have produced such limited results for poor, minority ethnic groups (and later, females) had been shaken, educationalists and others sought innovations which would affect the quality of education rather than its quantity. To introduce additional adults into everyday life in schools was seen to have great potential. These adults, however, were to be different from the professionals -- the highly trained teachers. Teacher aides were to have skills not necessarily acquired by specific training, to reflect the communities from which disadvantaged students came and to act as a support for teachers and students alike.

As with other educational innovations like computer-assisted instruction, the open classroom or experience and inquiry-based developments in science education, the pressure for employment of teacher aides or paraprofessionals became intense. In the United States, federal government intervention in education by means of policies and programs[4] to help the disadvantaged provided the official recognition, organization and financial backing to convert an interest into an educational movement. However, it must be remembered that the post-war years also saw the struggle by school teachers to establish their professional standing. 'Professional' characteristics such as increased period of training, higher formal qualifications, larger salaries and opportunities for specialization in the educational career structure were fought for and, in general, achieved. The introduction of 'non-professional' staff into classrooms (as opposed to school offices or the school playground) posed certain threats to the newly-won status of teachers and administrators. Hence the difficulties inherent in thorough-going research and development of policy concerning the boundaries between the tasks of the professional and the non-professional.

Whilst the themes explored briefly above are of particular salience for sociological and historical reasons, this is not the place for their detailed examination. We are seeking merely to identify the range of issues and concerns which appear in the overseas literature as a backdrop to what has happened in Australia, and especially in Victoria. Therefore, we shall complete this section by commenting in general terms on other issues and concerns relevant to the study of teacher aides.

Definition

In North America, teacher aides are termed para-professionals. According to the Department of Health and Welfare, U.S. Office of Education:

> A Paraprofessional is defined as a person who has less than the required or expected level of education or training, but who is performing duties usually performed by the professional under the direct supervision of the certified person. A Paraprofessional may be a paid or volunteer worker. He may be assigned to assist a teacher.[5]

Within schools, teacher aides are variously deployed and a number of different titles are used to indicate their main area of work. Examples include clerical, library, playground, service, instructional, migrant, and bilingual aide.

Commentators on Canadian education have freely used the term para-professional for volunteer or paid personnel without teacher certification who have been employed in schools.[6] Such personnel have been given responsibilities in the areas of student instruction and operation of school services. There has been a tendency in the literature to situate examination of the role of para-professionals within the broader concept of differentiated staffing. It has been noted that while the concept and utilization of para-professionals in

Canadian schools has met with ready acceptance, there has been less support for the concept of differentiated staffing.[7]

Rationale

The concept of integration of para-professionals into the educational workforce seems to have been justified by the a priori assumption that it is 'a good thing'. It is not clear from the literature whether this assumption has arisen from previous research, policy or practice or some combination of all of these factors. In this context, we can merely list a selection of the premises which have been adduced as underlying this major assumption.[8]

- Teachers differ in their level of teaching skills and in their commitment to teaching as a profession.
- Teaching is a multidimensional activity entailing both instructional and non-instructional tasks.
- Demands of accountability for public funds expended in state education lead to pressures for effective use of teachers' time and professional skills in view of the high cost of their salaries.
- Para-professionals may carry out non-instructional tasks more efficiently than professionals.
- Disadvantaged minorities among school enrolments whether identified on characteristics related to sex, ethnic group, socio-economic status or academic achievement require additional support from schools. Para-professionals represent one type of support.

- The employment of para-professionals is an innovation which can occur at the individual school level. It does not necessarily require structural change at the systems level.

- Para-professionals are usually hired from the immediate school community, whereas this does not necessarily hold for teachers. Hence, para-professionals can serve as an effective link between the schools and their communities.

- An essential component of the formal learning process is provision of adult role models. Paraprofessionals in the classroom will increase the number of adult role models for students.

- The compelling demands made by post-industrial society are changing traditional patterns of schooling and learning. The job of the teacher is becoming unmanageable, requiring input from support personnel such as paraprofessionals.

Role

Variables affecting the role of the teacher aide have been identified as broad variations in (1) legal requirements, (2) educational environments and (3) local needs. Hence, the difficulty in identifying a common role for all teacher aides. On the other hand, there is widespread agreement that the diagnosis of educational needs and the planning and design of programs and procedures to satisfy those needs is a professional concern. The educational 'professionals' to undertake this work include teachers, administrators, consultants and researchers. Ambiguities tend to arise between the role of the professional and the para-professional in the stage of implementation of programs and procedures. For example, ambiguity can become acute in the case of programs and procedures for students whose language is other than the majority language. That is, in those situations in which ethnic (or bilingual) teacher aides have been employed to work with monolingual (dominant language) teachers.[9] The professional status of the teacher in this case is rendered uncertain by the teacher's lack of skill in the minority language; that particular skill is possessed by the ethnic teacher aide or para-professional.

Studies to determine the role and functions of aides compared with teachers have found wide variation in rules and regulations amongst the states. Tanner and Tanner[10] found, for example, that in California the 1969 Instructional Aide Act authorized the employment of non-certificated teacher aides to be used in instruction in regular education programs, their tasks being defined by the certified personnel. In contrast, the legal position established in Wyoming was that under no circumstances should teacher aides be involved in the instructional process. Hixon[11] in another study concluded that, in many instances, teacher aides exceeded the limits of non-professional duties and invaded the professional domain. Over half the aides identified in his study were actually teaching.

There appears to be a general consensus in the literature that the work of teacher aides falls into five categories.[12] The categories are clerical, housekeeping, instructional, motivational and integrational. Examples of these categories (in order) are filing stencils, collecting student moneys, correcting and recording students' class work, reinforcing teacher praise for individual students, assisting the development of good school-community relations by home visiting. Aides may be employed to specialize in tasks pertaining to one only of these categories or to perform tasks which take in more than one of these categories. The consensus amongst researchers may not, however, be shared by administrators, teachers, parents or even aides themselves. Discrepant perceptions of the teacher aide role is one of the problematics in the use of paraprofessionals in education.[13]

A Canadian study[14] indicated that untrained teacher aides performed routine tasks such as duplicating materials for teachers (materials-centred tasks) and taking students on trips (student-centred tasks), whereas trained aides spent much more of their time on tasks requiring technical expertise -- such as operation of A-V equipment (materials-centred tasks) and assisting students in the classroom in various ways (student-centred tasks). Aides in the study expressed concern over ambivalent expectations of them expressed by professionals such as teachers and administrators. It seems certain that the teacher aide role and functions and expectations associated with the role had not been satisfactorily specified by the schools in which the aides in this study were employed. One of the consequences was a lowering of aide morale and job satisfaction.

Problems

No educational innovation is immune to problems. The literature on paraprofessionals details reports of research studies of actual programs and discussions of the utilization of teacher aides outlining actual and potential difficulties.[15] In most cases, recommendations are provided which list ways of minimizing problems or avoiding them where possible.

Problems and issues of concern associated with the utilization of para-professionals in education include:

- Funding:

  For example, diminution or cessation of funds for teacher aide programs has an immediate effect (that is, possible dismissal of staff) whereas programs which are material-based may take longer to be affected.

- Relationship of teacher aides to the certificated personnel system:

  For example, dissatisfaction may arise where teachers and teacher aides carry out substantially the same instructional tasks, but teachers are paid a salary while aides are paid wages at an hourly rate. Teacher aides may feel that their skills are being exploited.

- Roles and functions of teacher aides:

  For example, where roles and functions of teacher aides are not clarified initially, later differential perceptions may lead to friction between teacher aides and professional personnel and/or parents. Teachers may feel that their autonomy in the classroom is threatened while teacher aides may have difficulty in establishing a satisfying occupational role-identity.

- Support services provided to teacher aides:

  For example, it has been suggested that one form of inservice training for teacher aides is the opportunity to interact with their peers. Teacher associations and allied professional activities are well developed and entrenched; similar support services for teacher aides are much less so. Hence, role-identity for teacher aides is more difficult to establish.

- Planning and implementation of teacher aide program: For example, it is by no means certain that the training of educational professionals equips them to work harmoniously and effectively with ancillary staff. Hence, the mere inclusion of teacher aides in a program planned and designed by administrators and teachers to achieve some particular goal (say, a better learning environment for children experiencing learning difficulties in school) cannot guarantee the successful implementation of the program.

- Recruitment, selection and placement of teacher aides: For example, teacher aides have been used most often in programs for disadvantaged minority groups. One criterion for selection of aides for such programs is that they should 'represent' the community from which the minority children come. Difficulty can arise with inappropriate operationalization of the term 'representative'.

- Evaluation and supervision of teacher aide program: For example, teacher aide on-the-job training and personal growth is likely to be inhibited unless teachers and administrators provide useful and constructive feedback to teacher aides on their performance. To do this, teachers and administrators must be skilled in the techniques of evaluation and supervision. Training in these areas may not be part of the professional educator's repertoire.

- Training and teacher aides:

  For example, because of diversity, and even conflict, over the concept of paraprofessional or teacher aide amongst those interested and/or involved in education, there are many views concerning teacher aide training. The following represent two extremes in this issue -- teacher aides should be 'warm, motherly, fond of children' or teacher aides should be sought amongst the 'many highly trained teachers' currently not engaged in a full-time teaching career. That is, teacher aides should receive no particular training or, alternatively, the more highly qualified (in the formal educational sense), the better the aide.

AUSTRALIAN REVIEW

In contrast to the extensive overseas literature on teacher aides, the computer-assisted search of Australian sources yielded little published material. The conventional search for material on Victoria itself was more successful, scanning as it did documents including official educational reports, memoranda distributed by the Victorian Education Department and news items in teacher union journals. Selected results of these searches have been included in the reference section at the end of the Chapter.[16] We do not claim that this is an exhaustive list but it does illustrate sources of information on teacher aides, with special reference to the state of Victoria.

The review presents only a brief overview of trends. In general, it covers the same areas as the North American Review but with some modification in presentation.

Firstly, it should be emphasised that the use of ancillary staff in the classroom has a long history in Australian education. For example, William Wilkins in the 1850's in New South Wales introduced and developed a pupil-teacher system of teacher training. By this system, prospective teachers were apprenticed to a 'trained' teacher until they were efficient enough to assume the office of teacher.[17] The notion of teacher aide (or at least government acceptance of unqualified teachers) in Victoria may have emanated from an Act of Parliament in 1892 which provided for the determination of the employment of and salaries to be paid to monitors.[18] In the twentieth century, Cole[19] reported the use of pupil monitors in rural schools as late as 1937.

The strong impetus for many changes in education, including a new look at the utilization of staff other than trained teachers in schools, came in the 1970's. The post-war 'crisis' in education in Australia led to the 1969 Survey of Educational Needs throughout all states. The Survey was carried out by the Australian Education Council, which was made up of state Ministers of Education. It revealed that massive aid to education was required to improve the nation's education systems. Recognition of and action on the crisis came, however, only after the 1972 election. One of the Whitlam Labor government's first moves on assuming office was to establish the Interim Committee of the Schools Commission. The Interim Committee presented a report[20] in which the main deficiencies of Australian schools were identified in the following terms:

(a) most schools lack sufficient resources, both human and material, to provide educational experiences appropriate for a modern, democratic, industrial society;

(b) gross inequalities exist between schools, both in their resources and the opportunities they offer to children from varied backgrounds. In particular, there are serious inadequacies in schools which draw their pupils from communities suffering socio-economic disadvantage, and in the provision for handicapped children;

(c) the quality of education leaves much to be desired. In particular, many teachers have been less than satisfactorily trained and the opportunity for professional enrichment is frequently meagre;

(d) curricula and teaching methods tend to be unresponsive to differences among pupils and to address themselves to the development of a relatively narrow range of attributes;

(e) the organisation and administration of some schools and school systems is inhibiting to the fostering of human relationships of a kind which would best prepare young people for their place in the adult world.

The Committee also suggested the basic values which should underlie future Schools Commission programs. These were:

(a) pursuit of equality in the sense of making, through schooling, the overall circumstances of children's education as equal as is practicable;

(b) attainment of minimum standards of competence for life in a modern, democratic, industrial society;

(c) notion of education as a lifelong experience of which primary and secondary schooling are phases;

(d) diversity among schools in their structures and offerings;

(e) devolution as far as is feasible of decision making to those working in or with the schools -- teachers, pupils, parents and the local community;

(f) encouragement of innovation and fostering of change.

By the establishment of a Commission for school level education, the potential for and legitimation of federal intervention into all aspects of formal education was realized.

It was largely through the Schools Commission that the factors listed below[21] have come to the forefront of thinking about education in the

1970's and 1980's:

(1) The concepts of needs and responsibility are seen as key criteria for educational thinking.

(2) The initiative can be taken at individual school level to assess needs and devise submissions to apply for funds to satisfy needs has been acknowledged.

(3) The necessity to differentiate between needs (quantitatively measurable volumes of resources such as professional and non-professional staff per stated numbers of students) and standards (factors not so easily measurable including the quality of human resources and the relative importance attached to meeting the needs of atypical students) in considering educational matters has been accepted.

(4) The recognition that the community holds very broad expectations of schooling and that these do not decline in times of economic downturn has become widespread.

(5) The general acceptance that the organization of learning must be based on consideration of individual differences has led also to an acceptance of the need for additional resources to cater for individual needs and differences.

In the brief reference to the establishment of the Australian Schools Commission in the 1970's, we find echoes of the conditions in America and Canada in the '60s which influenced the entry of their federal governments into the field of substantial educational funding. Though the manifestations of federal intervention differ on the two continents, many of the assumptions underlying it reflect common assumptions about education. In particular, we recall the concern with disadvantaged students having particular educational needs and the reference to 'quality' in education.

While the setting up of the Schools Commission was a necessary pre-condition for changes in education including the expansion of the number and type of educational personnel, the state of Victoria needed other specific developments to trigger a substantial expansion in educational personnel. These developments came in the form of legislative enactments to facilitate employment of ancillary staff by individual schools -- a considerable devolution of administrative responsibility.

On December 5, 1974, Teacher Registration Act No.8658 was passed, amending the Education Act of 1958. Among the provisions of this Act were the following:[22]

> 14 AA(A) ... A Council of a Technical School may employ staff other than teaching staff.
>
> 14 AA(B) ... A school committee or a Council of a High School or group school may, after consideration of any recommendation of the Principal and staff of the School, employ teacher aides to assist teachers in class activities of the school.

During the second reading of this Bill, Thompson, Minister for Education, made the following statement:

> Due to increased allocation of funds by the Commonwealth for disadvantaged schools it is considered that this money can be properly used in the employment of Teacher aides. Aides will perform a variety of functions which will include work with migrant children ... some will be experts in the language field ... specific duties for which aides will be employed will vary from school to school and must be determined by each school in relation to its own needs.

With the passing of the Education (Schools Council) Bill in November 1975, the way was cleared for new duties and responsibilities for school councils. For example,[23]

> 15B. (1) Subject to this Act and the regulations, a council constituted Employment under section 13 may -
>
> (a) employ any staff other than teaching staff to assist in the work of the council or of the school or (as the case may be) any school in the group in relation to which the council is constituted;
>
> (b) after considering any recommendations made by the principal and staff of the school or (as the case may be) any school in the group in that connexion, employ part-time teachers on a sessional basis for the purpose of -
>
> (i) teaching pupils in post-secondary evening classes; or
>
> (ii) teaching subjects which require the employment of persons with current industrial or commercial experience;
>
> (c) after considering any recommendations made by the principal and staff of the school or (as the case may be) any school in the group in that connexion, employ teacher aides to assist teachers in educational activities of the school; and
>
> (d) employ any person to conduct any general educational activities for the benefit of the local community.

Hence, the development of two structures, the Disadvantaged Schools Program of the Schools Commission and legislation empowering schools to employ staff enabled the entry of the first federally funded teacher aides into Victorian schools in 1975 and increased the opportunities for schools to obtain teacher aides, even if they were not officially classified as 'disadvantaged'.

Rationale

By whatever means teacher aides were funded, the rationale for their use could be summed up as an important strategy in the promotion of educational change: change on a number of levels. The levels might be described as follows[24]:

Child Centred:

To achieve changes in:

- competencies and skills;
- interests and attitudes to school;
- social and motor skills;
- self-esteem and self-concept.

School and Teacher Centred:

To achieve changes in:

- approach to specially developed programs;
- involvement in school-based decision-making;
- understanding of disadvantaged communities;
- approach to bi-culturalism;
- the ratio of adults to children (i.e. teacher aides, ancillary staff).

Community Centred:

To achieve changes in:

- opportunities for participation at all levels of school life;
- relationship between schools and communities;
- understanding between schools and communities.

General:

To achieve changes in:

- facility of children to have power over the circumstances of their own lives.

As has been shown, the expansion of teacher aide use was associated from the beginning with the concern to make special provision for migrant children. A Schools Commission Report[25] has highlighted this special concern:

> The Commission's Act requires it, in estimating the needs of schools, to pay particular regard to the needs of children who may suffer

> 'disadvantages in relation to education for ... ethnic ... lingual or similar reasons'.
>
> and
>
> Where parents are not fluent in English, special attention is needed to get communication going between them and the school, which might require the employment of bilingual teachers, translators or teacher aides.

These emphases in Schools Commission Reports, the agency largely responsible for channelling funds to the States to help alleviate educational disadvantage, are reflected in directives to schools from the Victorian Education Department. For example[26]:

> (1) The rationale for the introduction of teacher aides is to bring more individual attention to disadvantaged children. As one of the vital areas of educational disadvantagement is that of language experience, aides will make a positive contribution by enabling more intensive adult-child communication, particularly with new entrants to schools. For this reason, primary schools may consider the use of aides in infant areas as a first priority.
>
> and
>
> (II) The rationale for the introduction of teacher aides under the S.G. program is to bring more individual attention to disadvantaged children. As one of the vital areas of educational disadvantagement is that of language experience, aides will make a positive contribution by enabling more intensive adult-child communication particularly with new entrants to schools. For this reason, primary schools may consider the use of aides in infant areas as a first priority. In addition, employment of teacher aides from the neighbourhood will forge new links between the school and the community and promote community involvement in school affairs, particularly in predominantly migrant communities.

Comparison of these documents shows clearly that thinking on the concept and role of ethnic teacher aides had undergone a shift of emphasis, with the latter document stressing the 'community' function of teacher aides. Interestingly, this community role is seen to be particularly important for 'predominantly migrant communities'.

A significant development came in 1980 with a directive to District Inspectors of Schools, Principals of Schools and Schools Councils from the Primary Schools Division specifying the employment of ethnic teacher aides.[27] Part of the directive stated:

> The Primary Schools Division invites applications from schools interested in gaining funding for the employment of an ethnic teachers' aide during 1980.
>
> 1. Background
>
> 1.1 Currently, teacher aides are employed by individual schools for specific purposes. Funding sources for these aides have been:
>
> i. the Supplementary grants program;
> ii. various Schools Commission Projects; and
> iii. the Victorian Government.
>
> 1.2 Ethnic teachers' aides employed for the duration of 1980 should thus be seen as, initially, complementing rather than replacing existing personnel.
>
> 2. Submission Procedures
>
> 2.1 No application form is necessary. However, schools in presenting their submission should indicate:
>
> i. the ethnic composition of the school;
> ii. the special circumstances of the school;
> iii. the proposed role of the aide;
> iv. the specific skills expected of the aide;
> v. details of existing school programs in which other aides are involved and the source of funding for such aides; and
> vi. the nature of any application for funding of such aides which are at present under consideration by funding bodies or have been refused by them for the current year.
>
> Submissions should be forwarded to:
>
> Ethnic Education Services,
> 1st Floor, Myer House,
> 250 Elizabeth Street,
> MELBOURNE. 3000.

Aspects of definition, role and problems concerning teacher aides and ethnic teacher aides raise similar issues and concerns to those identified in the overseas literature. To avoid undue repetition, the final section of this review will be accomplished by illustrating from selected documents.

Definition and Role

A survey of teacher aides sponsored by the Victorian Department of Education and published in November 1979 stated[28]:

> In the absence of clearly defined policy, rationale and philosophy related to Teacher Aides in Victoria, many different priorities have been placed on their role. These include the use of Teacher Aides as community "bridges", as non-authoritarian adult figures to whom children can relate emotionally, and as specially designated project participators. However, one dominant theme continues to emerge, both here and abroad -- that of the teacher aide as a performer of non-professional tasks in order to allow teachers to attend to matters more in keeping with their specialized skills and knowledge.

The final point in this report was made in another context by Crosher[29] in one of the few Australian articles on differentiated staffing. Her argument was that trained teachers in search of higher salaries move out of teaching into positions in which their time is taken up largely with administrative trivia. These teachers might have stayed in teaching if they had been assisted by various types of ancillary staff; the implication being that differentiated staffing would bring greater job satisfaction (even without increased monetary rewards). Marsh[30] also suggests that to the teacher's academic role has been added others such as clerk, housekeeper, bookkeeper and policeman. To 'professional' people, these additional roles are seen as a 'waste of time and talent'.

In spite of the lack of 'defined policy, rationale and philosophy', Victorian Education Department memoranda have provided definitions of teacher aides (and ethnic teacher aides) and their duties.[31]

(1) 1976 Memorandum

A teacher aide is any person employed by a school committee to assist members of the teaching staff in carrying out their professional duties and responsibilities. The aide will assist the teacher with non-professional tasks which do not require the application of pedagogical skills. It is the teacher's duty alone to diagnose learning needs and to make decisions on procedures to meet those needs. Under no circumstances will teacher aides be used as emergency teachers to replace teachers absent through illness or any other cause. They are not to be given responsibility for a grade. Teacher aides will therefore not be included in any calculation of school teacher-pupil ratio.

In addition employment of teacher aides from the neighbourhood will forge new links between the school and the community and promote involvement in school affairs, particularly in predominantly migrant communities.

Duties of the Teacher Aide

Specific duties for which aides are employed will vary from school to school and must be determined by each school in relation to its own needs.

The following description of some of the activities where the services of aides may be used is intended for the guidance of schools, and is not to be considered either prescriptive or exhaustive.

(a) Child Care Activities:

Teacher aides may participate in child care and supervisory activities which do not require educational decision making or full responsbility for children. Such duties may include health care, supervision of pupils in playgrounds, on excursions and in sporting activities, or making personal observations of children and bringing them to the attention of the teacher. In some schools aides may well develop liaison duties which will take them into the community and the homes thus reinforcing, where necessary, positive attitudes of parents and pupils towards school.

(b) Classroom Organisation Activities:

The teacher aide will contribute to the effectiveness of the learning programme by relieving the teacher of many routine time-consuming tasks, thus enabling better use of teacher resources within the school. Such duties may include the organisation of classroom displays, filing of work in children's folders, cataloguing of materials, collecting money, gathering information for and compilation of pupil records.

(c) Assisting with the provision of learning resources:

Activities associated with the storage, distribution and retrieval of classroom material and the preparation of teaching aides.

(2) 1979 Memorandum

It is not proposed to issue any directions on teacher aide duties. Specific duties for which aides are employed will vary from school to school and must be determined by each school in relation to its own needs.

The following description of some of the activities where the services of aides may be used is intended for the guidance of schools and is to be considered neither prescriptive nor exhaustive.

Teacher aides may participate in child care and supervisory activities which do not require educational decision-making or full responsibility for children.

e.g. Health care, supervision of pupils in playgrounds, on excursions, or in sporting activities.

Making personal observations of children and bringing them to the attention of the teacher.

Liaison duties which will take them into the community and the home, thus, reinforcing where necessary, positive attitudes of parents and pupils towards the school.

The aide will contribute to the effectiveness of the learning program by relieving the teacher of many time-consuming tasks, thus enabling better use of teacher resources within the school. Such duties may include -

- organization of classroom displays
- filing of work in children's folders
- cataloguing of materials
- collecting money
- gathering information for and compilation of pupil records.

Activities associated with the storage, distribution and retrieval of classroom material and the preparation of teaching aides.

(3) 1980 Memorandum

6. Duties of Ethnic Teachers' Aides

The duties may include the following:

6.1 Establish a communication network linking the school, its parents and the local community so that:

   i. parents become aware of and are able to comment on the school's policy and practices; parents come to know the teachers of their children and are encouraged to participate in the activities of the school community, at both decision-making level and in educational activities and programs;

   ii. teachers and school administration become aware of the cultural values and language problems of that particular ethnic group as they affect parent expectations of school, teachers and student; and

   iii. teachers and school administrators become cognisant of the resources available in the community.

6.2 Provide a communication link between children and with teachers and parents:

   i. in primary schools this may involve assisting prep children adjust to school by providing emotional and linguistic support;

   ii. in post-primary schools by supporting counselling of students;

   iii. generally by providing an informal ear for children.

6.3 Assist within a specified program by:

   i. helping individual students;

   ii. taking charge of small groups under teacher supervision;

   iii. reading stories; and

   iv. under teacher supervision, offering classes or electives on aspects of the culture of that ethnic community.

6.4 Perform clerical duties directly related to a specified program by:

   i. preparing materials in the particular community language as instructed by the teacher-in-charge of the program;

   ii. typing and duplicating material in the particular language;

   iii. preparing instructional aids and displays as instructed by the teacher-in-charge of the program.

NOTE - re Duties

1. Ethnic teachers' aides are not appointed as translators and interpreters. Trained interpreters are employed within Counselling, Guidance and Clinical Services to meet this need.

2. Ethnic teachers' aides are not teachers and, therefore, will not teach language or supervise a class unless under the direction of a teacher.

3. Ethnic teachers' aides are to be used for the stated purpose for which they are employed according to specific Duty Statements drawn up by the School Council.

4. Ethnic teachers' aides are not to be used for duties properly performed by clerical staff.

(4) 1976 memoranda

(A)

(i) Types of Aides employed:

(a) Library Assistant, Schools full-time 38 hours per week and part-time 15 hours per week.

(b) Technical Assistant, Schools full-time 38 hours per week and part-time 15 hours per week.

(ii) Dates of introduction of Aides:

(a) Library Assistants introduced 4 December 1973 -- effective February 1974.

(b) Technical Assistants introduced 13 February 1960 -- effective February 1961.

(iii) Departmental Policy:

Library Assistants -- Duties: As directed to assist in the library of a secondary school; other duties as directed. Qualifications: Ability to perform clerical duties and other duties related to library operations.

Technical Assistants -- Duties: As directed to assist in the laboratory of a secondary school; other duties as directed. Qualifications: Passes in four subjects at Form V standard; including a pass in a science subject; ability to perform laboratory duties.

(B)

In the 1974/75 financial year funds were provided by State Treasury to enable the Director of Special Services to employ 20 teacher aides within the Special Services Division. Further funds were made available in 1975/76 to enable 43 additional teacher aides to be employed. The Director allocated all 63 positions to the Special Education section

> of the Division as shown on the attached list. Approval has been given for a further 3 positions from the beginning of 1977 but these have not yet been allocated.
>
> The Department does not prescribe the duties of teacher aides as these vary from school to school and even within a school. For this reason, the Principals are asked to recommend the most suitable applicant for the particular task to be performed. Principals usually invite applications through local newspapers and interview the applicants. To date, every recommendation has been accepted. Until recently, all were female but we now have 7 males employed.
>
> In addition to the above, there is another category of teacher aides employed through the Special Services Division. The Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs provides funds to the Aboriginal Eduation section for the employment of Aboriginal Teacher Aides in schools. There are approximately 20 employed at present. Whilst the conditions of employment and method of recruitment are similar, the actual employment is by the School Council. The Councils are given quarterly advances to meet the salaries and ancilliary costs.

The situation with regard to qualifications and training can be seen to vary with different types of aides. One of the most interesting developments has been the very definite guidelines prescribed by the Victorian Education Department for ethnic teacher aides. That is,

> Qualifications
>
> The following are basic requirements:
>
> i. Applicants must have completed education at Year 11 standard;
>
> ii. They must be fluent and accurate both in their own language and in English.
>
> iii. They must have a personality which will facilitate communication with parents and with teachers.
>
> iv. They must exhibit a knowledge and understanding of children and adolescents.
>
> v. They must be familiar with the particular ethnic communities with which the school is involved.
>
> Training of Ethnic Teachers' Aides
>
> During the initial four weeks of their employment, aides must participate in an in-service program. This will include both school-based experience, and 'formal' training conducted by Child Migrant Education Services. Details of the program will be forwarded to approved schools when all such aides have been appointed.

Problems

A useful summary of problems associated with utilization of teacher aides in schools has been given by Bourke in an article on Aboriginal auxiliary staff in schools in Victoria.[32] Bourke has identified problems and suggested solutions. These solutions would seem to have general application for all types of aides.

- The role of para-professionals (teacher aides) to be examined in the light of overall goals of education in the state;

- Peer reference groups for paraprofessionals to be encouraged as a form of continuing in-service education;

- Formal training programs for aides especially in the case of ethnic teacher aides;

- Teacher aides lack permanency, training, and promotional opportunities -- hence occupy the lowest stratum of the educational structure. They are in danger of becoming a stigmatized group. If differential staffing is accepted as desirable, the category of teacher aides must be recognized as a 'mainstream' rather than a 'marginal' one;

- A positive interactional role in the classroom must be developed by teachers and teacher aides in consultation;

- If teacher aides are to strengthen the link between schools and their communities, then the communities must be involved in the selection of the aides.

Some, at least, of the problems and solutions proposed by Bourke have received attention in reports from two of the latest major inquiries into eduation, the national inquiry into teacher education under the chairmanship of J.J. Auchmuty and the Victorian teacher education inquiry headed by Mr. Justice Asche. These reports specifically refer to teacher aides. For example, the Auchmuty Report recommends that[33]:

> Concerted efforts should be made by education systems in co-operation with teacher education institutions to identify suitable Aboriginal and ethnic teacher aides and instructors in ethnic community schools who should be assisted to qualify fully as teachers.

In the Asche Report, the reference to aides occurs in relation to special education[34]:

> The Committee recommends that adequate in-service education should be made available to persons other than teachers, including parents, aides, ancillary staff and those in helping professions involved in providing services in special education.

Teacher aide (and ethnic teacher aide) issues and concerns are likely to continue to feature prominently in current educational debates. We support this contention on the grounds that the concept and role of teacher aides reflect broader questions to do with, for example, professional autonomy in teaching, differentiation (and exploitation) in the educational workforce and the ideology of multicultural education.

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CHAPTER II

THE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

Recognition that Australia is a multicultural/multilingual society is relatively recent. Hence both the implications and consequences of that recognition have not yet received detailed and systematic study.

The present study has as its focus the concept and role of ethnic teacher aides in Victorian state schools. We would suggest that the theme is one which falls within the ambit of multiculturalism. Further, it is our contention that the theoretical and methodological frameworks developed to carry out the study and the actual research experience of the study provide a contribution which sheds light not only on the central aim of the study but on the very concept of multiculturalism itself.

NATURE OF THE STUDY

The study evolved from the original idea of a survey to one which required elements of both the survey and field study approaches. It is our contention that, with hindsight, such an evolution was inevitable given the socio-political implications of the research topic. As we found it necessary to modify and adapt our methodology during the research process, discussions by Cicourel (1964)[1] and Bell and Newby (1977)[2] provided useful guidelines.

In survey research (Rosenberg, 1968; Babbie, 1973)[3], the primary concern is usually within representativeness and with being able to generalize findings to a larger population. The unit of the survey may be individuals, cases, or settings. Typical research designs in survey research are 'cross-sectional' and 'longitudinal'. In the cross-sectional type, data are collected at one point in time from a sample selected to describe a larger population, also at that time. Obviously, as the name implies, in the longitudinal type, data are collected at different points in time so that the researcher can report changes in descriptions and explanations.

Most surveys study only a segment of a population, that is, they draw a sample. Sampling is accomplished by the use of one of two methods, probability sampling or non-probability sampling. The purpose of probability sampling is to select a sample which adequately reflects the variation that exists in the population and which avoids bias. The basis of probability sampling is that all members of a population have an equal chance of being selected in the sample: the key to this process is random selection. When precise representativeness is not required, non-probability sampling can be used. Based on the researcher's knowledge of the population, an appropriate sample is drawn, for example, by quota or by availability of subjects.

Survey research, in general, relies on two major techniques: self-administered questionnaires and interviews. Questionnaires are frequently mailed although they may also be hand delivered. Interviews are based on an interview schedule which may be structured to include 'closed' and 'open' types of questions or only one or other of those types. Survey data must be coded and analyzed. This process is often aided by the use of the computer.

This type of research can serve a number of purposes including description, explanation and exploration. Description entails finding out about the distribution of certain attributes; for example, the age and sex distributions of ethnic teacher aides in Victorian state schools.

If the researcher wishes to explain why, then we say there is an explanatory purpose to the survey. The researcher will have to take into account the relationship between some finding, for example, that more women than men become ethnic teacher aides in Victorian state schools, and a number of variables such as education, salary and career opportunities. An exploratory purpose is served when, for example, a loosely structured questionnaire is 'tried out' with a group of interest to the researcher. Such a technique may raise a number of issues which can be more carefully examined in the final 'controlled' survey. In the case of the present study, prior to the full-scale field work, informants in the Victorian Education Department were circularized with a questionnaire in order to gain some information on teacher aides generally.

Field studies (Lofland, 1971; Golden, 1976)[4] are often preferred where the purpose is to explore or to describe rather than to explain. This type of research strategy is characterized by:

- study of real groups in natural settings -- the main concern is to study in all its complexity the behaviour of real people in actual settings;
- a focus on a particular context, that is, the group is researched on its own 'territory';
- minimal research interference with the ongoing behaviour;
- attempts to grasp the meaning of the many interacting variables.

Such an approach lends itself to openness and flexibility and relies to a great extent on the technique of observation, both non-participant and participant, involving some means of systematizing observations. In addition, interviewing of the formal and informal kind can be employed. Technical aids which are often used are the tape recorder and portapak video equipment, but the researcher must also be skilled in observing and writing up observations once he or she has left the setting. Analysis of documents or records may also be used to supplement observation and interview.

The original planning for the study placed an emphasis on strategies associated with survey research. However, as the various phases of the study were encountered (detailed later under Procedure), it became apparent that such a methodology would be too limited. Hence, the adaptations and modifications in the research design which were made not only improved data collection but formed part of the data themselves.

In summary, features of the present study were:

1. With regard to Schools

Survey features:

(a) Cross-sectional design with non-probability sampling:

The fluidity of the situation with respect to the funding and employment of ethnic teacher aides and the difficulty of obtaining accurate information on the population of aides and their location indicated that we could not maintain rigour in our survey methodology, that is, we could not meet the requirements of representativeness and generalizability. On the other hand, constraints of time and resources meant that we could not survey every state school, even in the Melbourne metropolitan area, and so we had to sample on a school basis using criteria derived from the 1978 Ethnic Services Survey[5] of the Victorian Education Department.

(b) Use of self-administered questionnaires, interviews and observations:

The questionnaires were hand-delivered because the research assistants had to visit schools to interview and observe.

(c) Questionnaire data were collated and subjected to computer analysis.

Field study features:

(a) School personnel including aides were interviewed and observed in school situations, often while the normal work of the school was proceeding.

(b) Additional observations were made at school functions such as career nights or school council meetings.

(c) Research assistants were conscious of the need to minimize any researcher influence on situations in schools; for example, interviews were often conducted on a very informal basis over tea in the staffroom, with notes being recorded after the interview.

(d) Research assistants on occasions became participant observers when, for example, they were asked to speak with staff or school councils on research study findings to date. That is, schools themselves were seeking information on the concept and role of ethnic teacher aides.

(e) Particularly interesting schools (for example, one primary school had the services of about 14 part-time ethnic teacher aides) were visited more than once in order to obtain more detailed observations of the ethnic aide's place in the day-to-day life of the school.

2. With regard to Individuals and Groups not in Schools

Survey features:

(a) Cross-sectional design with non-probability sampling:

As we were interested in key individuals and organizations which might be predicted to have an influence on the ethnic teacher aide question, the sample was purposive in nature. We would claim, however, that some of the individuals selected could be considered to be representative of a larger group. For example, one might consider that the chairman of the Principals' Association would be, on some criteria anyway, representative of that organization.

(b) Use of a structured interview schedule:

Wherever possible, by the use of probes, interviewees were encouraged to expand on their replies. In this way, 'open' questions were introduced to supplement the 'closed' questions of the schedule.

AIM OF THE INVESTIGATION

The study had two related aims:

(1) To study the concept of ethnic teacher aides, the policy-making processes involved in the implementation and dissemination of the concept and the problems of accountability, authority and demarcation associated with the innovation in Victorian schools.

(2) To examine the role of ethnic teacher aides by means of:

(a) comparing actual and perceived functions of aides, using aides themselves as respondents;

(b) obtaining the perceptions of interested groups, for example, Department officials, teacher unions, parent and ethnic associations, of the functions of aides;

(c) making comparisons between (a) and (b) and within (a) and (b).

THE SAMPLE

In order to encompass the twin aims of the study, the sample had to be selected in terms of a number of components. These were:

(a) Individuals having a political and administrative (bureaucratic) influence on educational policy:

- State and federal politicians
- State and federal Department of Education Officials
- Schools Commission personnel

[For details, see Appendix 3]

(b) Groups (and individuals representing groups) having an interest in, and perhaps indirect influence on, educational policy:

- Three teacher unions and Principals' Association
- Parent Organizations
- Ethnic Organizations
- Miscellaneous Workers' Union

[For details, see Appendix 3]

(c) School personnel:

- Principals in schools with aides and without aides (N = 76)
- Teachers in schools with aides and without aides (N = 129)
- Ethnic teacher aides (N = 118)

Typeq of schools were state primary, high and technical schools:

- 54 primary schools
- 19 high schools
- 7 technical schools

In each school, we sought information from the principal (or some person designated by the principal), at least one teacher who worked with an ethnic teacher aide and one who did not (or in schools without aides, at least two teachers) and all ethnic teacher aides. In practice, informal discussions were often held with larger numbers of teachers. Within the schools, we had to rely on teachers who volunteered to become part of the study; prinipals did not direct their staff even though they agreed to allow the school to become part of the research project.

(d) Case study schools:

To supplement the schools which had been selected for (and agreed to participate in) the exploratory survey, we re-visited a small number of schools. We deliberately selected certain schools because of particular features (for example, schools which perceived themselves as employing ethnic teacher aides as part of their strategy of coping with ethnic diversity among their students). These criteria will be discussed in more detail in a later chapter.

The number of schools chosen for case-study purposes were:

- 4 primary schools
- 3 high schools
- 2 technical schools.

LOCATION OF SCHOOLS

Schools in the study were selected on the basis of high percentage enrolment of migrant students (> 50 percent). These percentages were obtained from the 1978 Ethnic Education Census. The distribution of the selected schools in the Melbourne metropolitan area has been mapped (see Appendix 3). It was assumed that provisions in schools for ethnic diversity, such as the employment of bilingual personnel, relate in some degree to the ethnic diversity of the community served by the school.

Work by Clyne[6] has traced the relative concentrations of particular languages within local government areas in Melbourne. He has identified four types of LGAs, using language as the criterion. These are[7]:

Type A -- Those with one dominant community language other than English (for example, Port Melbourne and Prahran -- Greek and Werribee -- Italian).

Type B -- Those with an ethnolinguistically mixed population but one dominant community language other than English (for example, Brunswick and Keilor -- Italian, and Malvern -- Greek).

Type C -- Those with an ethnolinguistically mixed population and no dominant community language other than English (for example, Caulfield -- Greek, German, Polish and Italian, Sunshine -- Italian, Maltese, Greek, Serbo-Croatian, Polish, German.

Type D -- Those with a relatively small number of speakers of community languages other than English (for example, Berwick, Cranbourne and Sherbrooke).

The dispersion of the schools in this study meant that all four types of LGAs were represented. Clyne's findings were considered as background to the discussion of the results obtained in the present study.

INSTRUMENTS AND THEIR USE

(1) Structured Interview

Structured interview schedules were constructed for all components of the sample other than school personnel. [These interview schedules are to be found in Appendix 2]. There was a common core of questions for all interviewees but specific questions were included for particular groups e.g. politicians or union representatives.

In general, interviews were conducted face-to-face without the use of recording devices. In a few cases, due to the length of the interview and time constraints on the interviewees' time, a follow-up phone interview was used or interviewees completed their answers in writing and posted them to the research assistant.

Interview schedules sought information on the concept and present and future role of ethnic teacher aides, interviewees' individual or organizational support or otherwise for ethnic teacher aides in schools, and interviewees' role in policy-making related to ethnic teacher aides.

(2) Questionnaires

Questionnaires were devised to survey principals, teachers and aides in schools. These questionnaires were designed to be self-administered although the research assistants usually found it necessary to explain the questionnaires to respondents prior to their completion. As we assumed that ethnic teacher aides by definition would have to be bilingual, aide questionnaires were prepared in English only. [These questionnaires are to be found in Appendix 2].

Questionnaires sought information on the actual and perceived concept and role of ethnic teacher aides, on possible future developments in the concept and role of ethnic teacher aides, on individual and institutional goals with respect to ethnic teacher aides, and on individual and institutional involvement with implementation on policy concerning ethnic teacher aides. However, as well as a common core of questions for all groups of respondents, specific questions were included for particular groups e.g. aides were asked which part of their job they liked the most or the least.

The research assistants visited each school, explained the questionnaire and left it for completion. For some schools, questionnaires were collected; for others, stamped addressed envelopes were left at the school for return of the questionnaires by mail. Principals were asked to suggest teachers who might be approached to complete the questionnaire. We sought teachers who worked with aides and those who did not.

(3) Checklist for Case-studies

Selected schools were re-visited by research assistants for a whole day. A checklist was prepared to guide that visit. [The checklist can be found in Appendix 1]. In addition, the research assistants, having previously established rapport with one or more of the school personnel, were given discretion to undertake a number of supplementary activities according to the particular situation. For example, they might undertake informal interviews with key personnel or other staff, say, in the lunchbreak in the staffroom, or become involved in participant or non-participant observation in classrooms in which ethnic teacher aides were working, or collect school documents such as programmes, or talk to students.

The aim of the checklist and the use of other ad hoc measures was to gain a more in-depth view of the school to supplement the initial survey data.

The use in schools of questionnaires, supported by formal and informal observation and the checklist was designed to provide

(1) efficiency in collecting survey data from a large sample of schools;

(2) greater depth of information about the workings of schools which either had or did not have ethnic teacher aides to enable the building of case-studies of selected schools;

(3) to allow the use of aides and their functioning in schools to be perceived through the eyes of those working in such situations (the researched), that is, not only filtered by the survey instruments designed by the researchers.

The interview method was considered to be appropriate for the collection of data from respondents who were not located in schools. Reasons for this were:

(1) the numbers of respondents were sufficiently limited that face-to-face interviewing was feasible;

(2) many of the respondents were high status figures in their organizations and were more likely to respond to individual contact;

(3) some of the data collected were sensitive, that is, in the political sense, and would not have been committeed to paper if a questionnaire had been used.

The checklist was designed as a guide for research assistants when they re-visited schools. However, the aim was not to restrict either the research assistants or school personnel. Rather, the intention was to build in as much flexibility as possible so that any disruption to the activities in the school would be minimal. The assistant followed up any aspects which were not clear from the previous visit on the data collected already but she was also interested in merging into the background and carefully observing interactions between aides and students, aides and teachers and so on.

PROCEDURE

PILOT STUDY 1977

During 1977, preliminary interviews were held with the Deputy Director of Planning Services, the Deputy Director of Special Education (Ethnic Services) and the officer-in-charge of Supplementary Grants in the Preston Regional Office of the Victorian Education Department. The purpose of these interviews was to explore the concept of teacher aides in general and to attempt to gain some idea of the numbers and distribution of such aides. As well, letters seeking more information on these two counts were sent to each of the Directors of the Primary, Secondary and Technical Divisions. As a follow-up, telephone interviews were conducted with personnel of these divisions designated by the Directors.

In fact, the sum total of 'hard data' obtained from these inquiries was small but the very difficulty of the search and the interesting issues raised by the interviews in particular led us to formulate a proposal which delimited our area of research to ethnic teacher aides. The final application for research funds from E.R.D.C. was shaped also in the light of discussions held with Mrs. Barbara Falk.

THE PRESENT STUDY

(1) Our first goal was to conduct the research based on the assumptions and methodology or survey research. We anticipated contacting and obtaining responses from the entire population of aides, not merely a representative sample. It was our impression from preliminary work that although no one could tell us how many ethnic teacher aides were employed in Victorian State schools and the category 'ethnic teacher aide' was unknown to some of our responsdents, everyone felt that there were not many ethnic teacher aides. This assumption was based on the fact that aides had to be employed under the aegis of the Supplementary Grants scheme which limited them to declared disadvantaged schools. Thus, we approached the Directors of the relevant Divisions of the Department, the officer-in-charge of Victorian Supplementary Grants, the Deputy Director Special Services (Ethnic Services) in order to obtain (a) a list of those schools likely to have ethnic teacher aides, (b) any information known of schools actually having aides, and (c) co-operation from the Divisions in respect of (i) access to schools and (ii) interviews with key personnel.

The results of these initial communications produced a mixed bag of results.

(1) We were not able to obtain any idea of schools likely to have ethnic teacher aides. In fact, the title 'ethnic teacher aide' was not in general use and we had to provide a definition of such ancillary staff. As the Victorian Education Department was not the employer of the aides, little was known about ethnic teacher aides.

(2) We were assured that access to schools was in the hands of individual principals and therefore we were free to contact any schools we wished.

(3) Most Divisions expressed interest in the project and indicated that they would be prepared to grant interviews although they were not sure that they could be of much assistance.

(4) One Division refused to grant interviews and denounced the project as fomenting trouble, having no relevance to the schools. This reply was not directed to the researchers but to the Dean of the School of Education in which the researchers worked.

(2) As it was now about May 1978, we decided to suspend the section of the study to do with actual schools and concentrate on the interview phase with all other individuals and groups. We considered that once this whole section of the study was completed, we might have a better understanding of the problem and be able to re-direct our efforts to examine the situation in schools.

(3) Letters were written to all prospective interviewees, followed up by telephone calls to establish appointments. One of the investigators conducted all the interviews in Canberra. One of the research assistants, experienced in interviewing, covered the Melbourne-based interviewees. The interviewing was quite a lengthy process, not being completed until September 1978.

(4) During this period, two other phases of the study were concluded (having been commenced in the Pilot Study of 1977). These were:

(a) a computer-assisted literature search of overseas data bases to examine research done on teacher aides in general and, specifically, on ethnic teacher aides;

(b) a library study of journals, government documents, Department of Education materials, etc. to compile Australian information on teacher aides in general and specifically, on ethnic teacher aides.

(5) As a consequence of the interviews, we discovered that a Victorian Education Department sponsored Survey on Victorian schools was to be conducted. The Ethnic Services branch indicated that this was the best source of information to indicate to us where ethnic teacher aides were likely to be found. We were given access to the results of the Survey when they became available(unfortunately, some six months later than we had anticipated). It was suggested that we did not proceed with our plans to start contacting schools ourselves until the Survey had been completed.

(6) Access to the Survey results was not obtained until February 1979, hence there was no field work in schools in 1978. One of the consequences of this was difficulty in budget matters. We had a surplus of funds in 1978 but because of the imprecise information on the extent of the school fieldwork in 1979, we exhausted our funds before completing the project and hence, there were further delays in the analysis of the data.

(7) The Survey results indicated the distribution of migrant English staff, bilingual teachers, aides and a category 'Other staff' in schools. In addition, of course, percentage 'migrant' enrolment, size and number of language groups amongst the students, length of time students had been in Australian schools, and other information was

available. We identified all schools which indicated that they had aides and 'Other Staff'. This then represented the sample of schools which might contain ethnic teacher aides.

(8) The sample contained:

149 primary schools
106 high schools
36 technical schools.

Our initial idea was to survey all of these schools to ascertain which did and did not contain ethnic teacher aides. (The category 'aide' in the Ethnic Services Survey did not necessarily mean 'ethnic teacher aide'.)

However, such a survey was beyond the resources of the research project. It was clear that a sample of the sample had to be drawn. The question was: on what criteria should the sub-sample be selected? We considered that a random sample drawn by using a technique such as a table of random numbers would not be appropriate in this situation. We already knew that aides were funded by Supplementary Grants and that such Grants were associated with Disadvantaged Schools. Disadvantaged schools in Melbourne (not considering the whole State) are not randomly distributed. They are concentrated in particular areas and characterized by a particular set of attributes which are themselves not randomly distributed e.g. high proportion of children from non-English speaking families, schools with old, inadequate buildings, schools with a high staff turn-over, schools with little community support or contact, and so on.

Our particular focus for the study was ethnic teacher aides, hence we set up some criteria (hunches) about the situations in schools which might have resulted in the employment of ethnic teacher aides. These conditions were:

- high proportion of 'migrants' in the enrolment;
- the presence of one or more large minority migrant groups in the school population;
- the presence of a large number of language groups in schools;
- the presence of newly-arrived migrant children of non-English speaking backgrounds.

Obviously one or more than one of these conditions might be operating across various school situations. On this basis and using the Ethnic Services Survey as our data base, we contacted a sub-sample of schools,

54 primary schools
19 high schools
7 technical schools

This sample represented

36.2% primary schools
18.0% high schools
19.4% technical schools

of the total schools in the Ethnic Services Survey which were identified as having 'aides' and or 'other staff'.

(9) The initial letter sent to the sub-sample of schools described the Project, asked the schools to co-operate, indicated that the research assistants would phone in a week's time to answer any questions and to establish appointments to visit the schools, to informally interview school personnel, and to observe the aides at work, to distribute questionnaires to principal, teachers and ethnic teacher aides. [For Administrative Materials, see Appendix 1].

(10) The initial responses from the schools indicated that in some schools there were now no aides or the aides were not 'ethnic' teacher aides. However, if these schools were willing to co-operate, we asked the principals to participate in the study to enable us to contrast schools (with similar characteristics according to the criteria discussed above) without aides and those with aides.

(11) Given the numbers of schools involved in this first stage and the second stage of the school fieldwork in which particular schools of interest were re-visited in order to develop case-studies, the school fieldwork was not completed until December, 1979.

(12) In 1980, the following phases of the study were completed:

1. Questionnaire data were subjected to statistical analysis by means of the computer. The non-probability nature of the sample meant that the statistical analysis was limited to simple tabulations of frequencies and percentages. Such analysis was seen as a valuable aid to description.

2. Interview data were systematically analyzed by one of the investigators to maintain consistency.

3. Case-study materials were collated by one of the investigators in consultation with the research assistants.

4. The final report was compiled.

NOTES and REFERENCES

1. A. Cicourel, Method and Measurement in Sociology. New York: The Free Press, 1964. We were influenced by Cicourel's argument that the sociological language used by researchers must be examined as carefully as the common-sense language and meaning of those whom the investigator researches. See, Introduction, pp.1-5.

2. C. Bell and H. Newby (eds.), Doing Sociological Research. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1977. The Introduction, The Rise of Methodological Pluralism, pp.9-29, was particularly helpful.

3. M. Rosenberg, The Logic of Survey Analysis. New York: Basic Books, 1968, in particular Chapter 9; and E. Babbie, Survey Research Methods. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1973, especially Chapters 3 and 4. These are standard texts on survey research designed to exhaustively examine the logic, skills and relevance of this useful method of scientific inquiry.

4. J. Lofland, Analyzing Social Settings. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1971 provides a guide to systematic qualitative observation and analysis and M. Golden, The Research Experience. Itasca, Illinois: F.E. Peacock, 1976 describes and discusses significant field studies from the sociological literature, see Chapter 2.

5. The 1979 survey has appeared in collated form as Planning Report. Ethnic Education Census 1979, Planning Services, Education Department of Victoria, 1980. We were given access to raw data from the 1978 Census, that is, the information from each school. It would have been very useful had we been able to note also general patterns in the data; such patterns or trends are available in the 1979 Report.

6. See, for example, M. Clyne, Language Contact and Language Ecology in Australia, in M. Rado (ed.), Bilingual Education. Proceedings of a conference held at La Trobe University, 1974 and Community Languages and Language Policy: A Demographic Perspective. Paper presented at Applied Linguistics Association of Australia Conference, August 1980.

7. Clyne (1980), Op.cit., pp.16-18.

CHAPTER III

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

At first sight, it could seem that formulating any theoretical framework for the discussion of the concept and role of ethnic teacher aides should be quite a straightforward matter. It might be conceded that particular reference to ethnic teacher aides would raise further, and perhaps more complex issues, but it is likely to be maintained, nonetheless, that we have a most manageable question on our hands. And, of course, it is an area which can be 'managed' -- surveys can be made, interviews conducted, tensions uncovered and policy recommendations made. By the same token, one may expect complexities because it soon becomes apparent that the issue of ethnic teacher aides provides an excellent miscrocosm for studying a number of problems associated with translating into practice the rhetoric of a multi-cultural society. In one sense the reality of a multi-cultural society already exists in Australia, though that even remains the subject of fierce debate[1]: a debate which must to some degree be incorporated into our discussion in the Report. The critical point for us concerns the fluidity of the whole multicultural area -- very little is settled (e.g. in the form of public definitions). Thus, one has to have a theoretical framework with an emphasis on interpretation, on reflexivity, on 'getting below the surface', on looking both at the broad and the particular political character of the multicultural area. This issue ties together our two major concerns; namely, the political aspects of research (and our argument that these are unavoidable) and the pressure and processes of definition of research areas and of research categories (in our case, 'ethnic' and 'aides').

However, even that discussion cannot take place in a vacuum. For example, discussion about the historical background of ethnic teacher aides and of varying perceptions[2] of their proper roles and functions raises questions about teacher professionalism and unionisation, about school-community relations, about ethnic expectations and the whole area of migrant disadvantage, as well as questions arising from more situationally specific matters such as the current economic climate and the socio-economic policies of the Federal Liberal government. These are some of the macro questions that our theoretical framework had to be able to make sense of and which, conversely, helped shape the form of our framework. Other matters, and this was discussed in Chapter Two when we outlined and explained the processes shaping our research design and activities, also shaped our approach as we became increasingly aware of the complexities. In particular, we soon came to believe that a sociology of knowledge framework, based primarily on the work of Jean Martin, was essential if we were to uncover and explain the processes at work in the area of study ('the area of study' itself being somewhat difficult to define).

The methodological issues raised by the research fall into two interdependent categories. First, those arising from our use of a sociology of knowledge framework. Second, those issues which stem from the use of research instruments ranging from the techniques of the survey (giving supposedly 'hard data') to the use of participant and non-participant observation (which claim to be subjective in the more 'interpretative' sense). These concerns are linked together because they centre on the dialectical relationship between researcher and research data.

This is to say more than the commonplace assertion that no research is truly objective. Even the staunchest empiricist must accept the problems associated with the defining and selecting of data in which the researcher is inextricably involved.[3] Our point is that in our research, we were not simply defining or categorizing. What we were doing was constructing versions of reality which become definitions imposed upon, or at least accepted and taken over by, the researched and then returned to the researcher. This is the essence of the dialectic.[4]

In a situation in which the pressures to make public definitions of multiculturalism have intensified but yet, as in Australia,[5] such definitions are shifting and amorphous, it is more likely that imposition rather than negotiation will be the result. In other words, the dialectical relationship in the case under discussion was prone to be a more one-sided one: a cause of some considerable worry on our part, but a difficulty which had to be overcome if our research was not to be paralysed. We believed that to be able to understand these complex processes of social structuring of definition and consciousness calls for a particular type of critical reflection on the part of the researcher and a particular type of theoretical framework with inbuilt reflexivity.

By this we mean not simply the question of a sociology which carries within it a critical self-awareness. Our framework enables us to go further than that. It is a matter of setting up definitions and hence realities that can be self-validating. This idea is captured by Filmer and his colleagues when they say:

> to define a field in a particular world is
> self-validating for it implies a preconstituted
> phenomenon for study.6

In the area of research into multiculturalism, the self-validation of research definitions would seem to be much more one of 'is' than 'can be'.

Perhaps a concrete example will make our meaning clearer. In the present research project, the researchers had to 'invent' the category 'ethnic/bilingual teacher aide'. There was no formal and established classification within the official educational structures whether these be Schools Commission, Department of Education (or even the Ethnic Services Division within it), or schools at the time of the study. Of course, this lack was noted not only in the educational structures. Within educational thinking itself, it was evident that there was no official conception, let alone category, of ethnic teacher aide. It was a situation where the researcher could invent a new term -- ethnic teacher aide (others which might have been used include -- bilingual aide, bicultural aide or multicultural aide). The researchers actually made and distributed knowledge categories which have gained wide acceptance at research and school levels.

Clearly there must be a resonance between the researcher's definitions and the perceptions of those being researched. Equally clearly, the degree of resonance required will vary from situation to situation. By way of illustration, the term 'ethnic' increasingly has been legitimated in the public sphere as an indicator of concern. Most recently, we have had the legitimation offered by government sponsored reports like the Galbally Report and the New South Wales Ethnic Affairs Commission Participation Report. We have attributed part of the ease with which our definitions were accepted in our research project to the general congruence of understanding over the term 'ethnic'.

These notions of reflexivity and resonance must be understood within the context of our broader theoretical framework.

The first part of our theoretical framework has been influenced by Martin's analysis. She has summarized the main thrust of her argument as:

> ... (how) meaning is socially constructed in specific situations and (how) the distribution of knowledge is related to the distribution of resources and power, and the experience of groups differently located in the social structure.7

In the preface of her book, she identifies her focus of concern as the "'sociology of social data' and the processes by which 'public definitions of the situation' are evolved, disseminated and used".[8] Examples of 'public definitions' and 'sociology of social data' would be, on a general level, the term 'multiculturalism', but also more specifically the widespread recent use of the term 'ethnic'. In other words, to use this particular sociology of knowledge framework to examine the concept and role of ethnic teacher aides, we must take into account three major elements, 'the ordered processes of constructing knowledge', the 'bodies of social knowledge' per se and the 'group relations' present or developing within the selected context, that is, Victorian state schools.[9]

An example of the tracing of group relations and of the links between the structuring of knowledge and the distribution of resources would be the need to examine ethnic teacher aides not only within the context of the Victorian education system but also with reference to the Schools Commission and the politics of supplementary grants funding.

By basing our analysis on the sociology of knowledge, we must subscribe to some of the basic principles and key terms of that frame of reference. A second important influence on our thinking has been the emphasis in the sociology of knowledge developed by Schutz and extended by Berger and Luckman.[10] Berger and his colleagues[11] have stated that:

> Society is viewed in this perspective as a dialectic between givenness and subjective meanings — that is, as being constituted by the reciprocal interaction of what is experienced as outside reality ... and what is experienced within the consciousness of the individual ... The consciousness ... is the web of meanings that allow the individual to navigate his way ...

This perspective complements Martin's particular interest in 'public definitions' and 'sociology of social data'.

Of course, both of these approaches examine the structuring of consciousness. Nevertheless, it would not be too simplistic to say that one approach has an emphasis on public definitions and the other on the dialectic between the construction and subsequent (almost invariably consequential) internalization of consciousness within the individual. It is when the essential elements of these two approaches are assembled that the distinctive framework we have adopted emerges.

The complementary nature of these two elements which contribute to the structuring of consciousness can be shown in the following example. Schools employ teacher aides on the basis of their definitions (as reflected in the job-description) of the role of the aide. Frequently, disjunction arises between the expectations of the school and of the aide. An instance could be that the aide sees him or herself working closely with children, whereas the school sees the aide as an assistant to relieve the teacher of 'non-professional' duties. A further disjunction can arise because the researcher may have different expectations about aides than do the schools and/or the aides themselves. This is a research problem to do with the imposing of a reality. It is also a practical (political) problem in that we as researchers are seen to be modifying the consciousness of the researched.

It must be noted also, that structures of consciousness, for example, organization of knowledge, must be linked to particular institutions and institutional processes and to the role of key individuals within those institutions and processes. This concept is inherent in the sociology of knowledge.

If we want to look at institutions, institutional relationships and processes, and if we want to demonstrate how structures of consciousness are being formed or guided, we need to analyse different kinds of 'social data', and, equally importantly, to examine these data at a below-surface level. Putting to one side for the moment the question of different kinds of social data, this means that we must develop and use our framework in a way:

> ... which can look beyond the level of immediacy at the structure which lies behind it. This should not imply that we need only produce theories of 'objective' reality, but that we should see the 'objective' moved 'out there' as on the one hand mediated by consciousness and, on the other hand, setting limits to the boundaries of objective possibility.12

We place considerable emphasis on the dialectical nature of the research process and accept the critical insight that definitions, meanings and realities are being negotiated, constructed and/or imposed as part of that process. Nonetheless we do not see this dialectical process as being either an endless one or as being an end in itself (avoiding the paralysis of research referred to earlier). In contrast with the dilemma in which many ethnomethodologists have found themselves placed, we believe that the added notion of reflexivity avoids the problem of those who prefer to treat:

> ... the glossing itself as an activity that becomes the phenomena of interest ... 13

In our view, below-surface analysis of the kind we have indicated, that is, to examine the structure or structures lying behind the phenomenon of interest, allied to a concept of reflexivity[14] or critical self-awareness does one very positive thing. This orientation signals that we as researchers can understand the dialectical nature of the research process and, at the same time, it provides a means of breaking what may otherwise be an endless reverberation between researcher and researched and between researcher and data.

Having assembled the elements of our theoretical framework, we are in a position to state the core of the conceptual issues inherent in this type of research.

What other researchers see as a subject-object problem or a researcher-data problem, something which needs to be excluded or at best minimized, our theoretical framework accepts as a reality. It accepts, moreover, that this apparent disjunction will indeed form part of the data base. Thus it is neither ignored nor artificially excluded but 'controlled' by a self-conscious awareness, a reflective awareness of the processes taking place in the research and in the broader social context.

To enter into the actual situation of ethnic teacher aides in Victorian schools in order to examine their roles and, as well, to establish the concept of ethnic teacher aide, using the particular theoretical framework we have constructed, means, as a consequence, the adoption of a multi-faceted methodology. This has been detailed in Chapter Two of this Report. The important point that needs to be noted here and now is that this framework and methodology does not, and this should be clear already from our comments, exist in isolation as some research artefact. The framework and methodology shape, and are shaped by, the area/object of research. This is so not only in the ways adumbrated above, but also in the fact of the highly political nature of our research. In essence, this is to do with acknowledgement of the multicultural reality of Australian society. The provision of bilingual personnel raises issues not only of funding or defining of roles, but also of values associated with one's conception of what Australian society and culture should look like.

These issues can be what would conventionally be termed 'political', that is, in the overt sense of the actions of political parties. Or, they can be implicitly political; for example, the question of teacher professionalism. In both cases, the pressures have been increased by a contracting economy, which has been the Australian experience throughout the seventies. In both of these cases, also, one response common to all our research groups (whether politicians or parents, school personnel or ethnic groups themselves) has been to interpret the question of ethnic teacher aides on grounds which have little to do with the value of the concept, but which reflect instead their own perceptions of multiculturalism in Australia and of multicultural education.

Four examples should suffice to make clear what we mean by the political implications[15] of our research:

(a) The director of a division in the Victorian Education Department, when approached for an interview, refused, giving as the reason that we were artifically creating a problem; a problem, in fact, which did not exist. Whilst we would agree that we invented the label 'ethnic teacher aide', we were not responsible for inventing the ethnic aide issue per se. What this response demonstrates is an attitude unfavourably disposed towards research itself. It also denies the existence of ethnic persons already acting in an aide capacity in some government schools. Finally, it demonstrates an attitude which appears not to recognize the broad implications for education of a multicultural Australia.

Non-response is generally seen as a 'problem', especially in research of a survey-type. Weakening of the data base due to reduction in generalizability of findings or representativeness of the sample may be seen as features of low response rates. We see our approach as distinctive in that the control of the flow of information occurring in our example is for us inevitably a process of the construction of knowledge. Such a process can be best analysed and understood from a sociology of knowledge perspective. Of course, there is no dialectic between the researcher and the researched operating here! Nonetheless, the dialectical relationship holds for the case of researcher and research data.

(b) The polar opposite of those who deny the very notion of ethnic teacher aide would be those whom we call 'the converted'; those who have very readily taken over, accepted and expanded the idea of ethnic teacher aides. Perhaps the most striking example we found was the changed attitude of the present Commissioner for Community Relations, whose initial reaction was one of rejection because of the association of the position of teacher aides with low status. That is, to be interested in the use of ethnic teacher aides was in some way to denigrate the meaning of a multicultural Australia and its reflection in formal education. However, having been introduced to the conception of ethnic aides acting in social welfare roles to promote positive multicultural attitudes, the term was taken over and, in fact, gained extra legitimacy by its association with a person in a position to define public knowledge in the area of multiculturalism.

In these two examples, we are dealing with the role of key individuals within the institutions of education and government who are concerned with processes of educational administration and policy implementation. The influence of the key individual in example (a) might have some influence on the construction of knowledge about ethnic teacher aides at the school level, but such influence would be mediated by the nature of the relations existing between schools and the Schools Commission. The contribution of the key individual in example (b) to social knowledge of ethnic teacher aides is more likely to be found among ethnic groups.

In the subsequent examples, on the other hand, we are referring to group responses arising from group relations within educational and union contexts.

(c) The clearest example of differences between group responses within the educational context was found by comparing the different conceptions of aides in primary and secondary schools. Reflected in practice, these varying conceptions resulted in the greater use of aides in classroom situations within primary schools, the employment of a number of aides with varying ethnic backgrounds and the sharing of their services between primary schools in an area, the more frequent use of aides in secondary schools in non-teaching related activities, and the more general restriction of aides to a particular department, such as migrant English, in secondary schools.

To attempt to explain these group differences, we would identify as a major factor the groups' perceptions of their own role with respect to 'ethnic' clients. At the primary level, the schools see as one of their functions accommodation to an existing multicultural situation. The multicultural element, at the secondary level, seems to be perceived more as a problem -- that is, individual students require language remediation and parents pose communication difficulties, because these schools see their function largely in terms of delivering a particular product to the Anglo-dominated world of work or further education.

While we see the interests of groups as the critical factor here, there are subsidiary factors contributing to the differences between secondary and primary schools; factors which derive from historical developments in these levels of schooling. These factors would include subject and department specialization in the secondary school, apparently a greater secondary union concern for teacher professionalism and, at the primary level, length of experience with the use of aides (for example, parents traditionally have been encouraged to assist in listening to children read).

(d) Moving to the union context, on one level there is the overtly political function of trade unions acting as pressure groups. One aspect of the political character of our research does operate on this level; that is, we sought information from teacher unions and the Miscellaneous Workers' Union, particularly looking for examples of pressure group action with respect to aides. What we found on this subject level reflects a deeper level of political meaning (which itself is composed of more than one stratum of meaning).

To illustrate this last point, when union representatives were interviewed, it became apparent that there were no policies on ethnic teacher aides in their own right, nor were ethnic teacher aides being seen as part of some broader notion of multicultural education (even though unions do seem to be in the process of formulating policies on multicultural education). Rather, ethnic teacher aides were viewed as an industrial issue, a union issue to do with questions of teacher professionalism. One question has to do with teachers favouring the organization of teachers and aides in quite separate unions. A second question would be teacher preference for bilingual teachers rather than the employment of ethnic teacher aides; failing to see that the concept of aide is essentially a supplementary one. These questions are operating within a wider context of the drive for teacher professionalism and heightened teacher status and of the concomitant union conflict with the Victorian Education Department on the bases to be used for school staffing.

The second corpus of issues concerns problems arising from the need for the researchers to define the research area rather than relying on a priori definitions. The major part of these issues refers to the labelling process, to the dialectical relationship that takes place when a researcher establishes a definition which is then returned to him or her from the researched. This example was explained in detail in the earlier part of the paper when we examined the construction of our theoretical framework.

This problem of using a priori definitions arose from our having to rely on a computerised survey mounted by the Ethnic Services Division of the Victorian Education Department. The survey collected information on language backgrounds of teachers, other staff (this latter category including, in our terms, ethnic aides) and students. Effectively, ethnicity was defined in terms of language. Consequently, these data had to be treated with some caution. We found that the 'ethnicity' of ethnic aides was, in some cases, irrelevant to the task they had been given in schools, even though the job-description referred to an ethnic background requirement other than Anglo-Australian. The fact that ethnic aides were classified either in the 'other staff' category or within the category specifically referring to 'migrant English' staff gave strong support to the lack of definition of ethnic teacher aide as a category of school personnel in their own right. That is, the notion of differentiated staffing for a contemporary school system is not a clearly articulated one in Victorian educational bureaucracy. Further, there is a rather hazy idea of using teacher aides in an 'ethnic' capacity.

From a different point of view, the form of the Ethnic Services survey created problems in data collection. Consequently, it became even more incumbent on the researchers themselves to produce labels or a priori definitions. As we explained earlier, this becomes a dialectical process, a matter of imposing categories on those who are the 'objects' of the research.

The third consideration centres on the difficulties of handling matters which are highly problematic but which inevitably come to form a part of the data base itself. We have already commented on the reaction we noted in a number of schools which, according to the staffing information we obtained, employed ethnic teacher aides. Some of the schools did not perceive their aides as having any such 'ethnic' function and, indeed, disapproved of that interpretation when it was brought to their attention. These reactions are of significance for our research in more than one way. The disjunction in interpretation between ourselves and the schools forms part of our data to be analysed from a sociology of knowledge perspective, just as the data from schools acknowledging their ethnic aides contributes to our findings about the concept and role of the ethnic teacher aide. Both types of responses are valuable data, contrary to some research positions which would classify the 'negative' reactions as a form of non-response. In another sense, these reactions at the practical level may signify a potential backlash, if the press for multicultural education with an emphasis on language were to become much stronger. A third possibility is that the inclusion of these reactions in our research report, which could be disseminated to policy-making agencies like Education Departments or the Schools Commission, could be interpreted by them in a way which would have effects on schools outside of the schools' control. This may indirectly influence, and possibly directly change, existing perceptions schools have held of their relationships with university researchers.

To follow through another aspect of dealing with the problematics in this research area, we might focus on the role of the researcher in the school context. In this research project, many schools have taken over our definition of a particular reality while, at the same time, their own actions and reactions deny it. Multiple realities are operating here and the researchers must retain a critical awareness enabling them not only to distinguish these realities but also to understand the dialectic which is operating. Although it may be easier for us to grasp our role in introjecting our definitions into the consciousness of others, we need to remain sensitive to other outcomes of the dialectic.

There may be some change in our own position because of the 'resonance effect' noted earlier and this has the potential to alter our 'control' of our own analysis. Even in the cases where schools wrote back to indicate that they did not have ethnic teacher aides, they have still accommodated to our terminology. The reasons behind such accommodation can also form part of our data. One element may be that we as researchers have been legitimated, and thus accepted, because of our university status, our Federal funding or the support gained from the Ethnic Services Division, or other combinations of factors. But as well, in a situation in which there is a lack of official guidance on the concept and role of ethnic teacher aides, schools may turn to outsiders. One concrete example is the frequent request for information about the unionization issue directed to the researchers from the aides themselves.

One final suggested outcome of the dialectic operating between researchers and the researched refers to the embedding of particular definitions in public consciousness following on from a process of affirmation or confirmation. By this we mean that if our definition of ethnic teacher aide were taken up and used by key individuals and groups, that usage would confirm/affirm its legitimacy and it might conceivably become a recognized category amongst those used for ancillary staff in schools. From a highly problematic position, a knowledge category could become a taken-for-granted element inherent in the body of public knowledge associated with multiculturalism or multicultural education.

The insights generated by a sociology of knowledge perspective appeared to us to be especially relevant to the analysis of issues in the area of multiculturalism. However, with reference to the study of ethnic teacher aides, it became evident that a particular thrust would have to be given in our framework to the distinctive role of the researcher as an inventor of categories and definitions. In turn, this emphasis on the researchers' construction of categories and definitions led us to give a renewed importance to the concepts of the dialectic and of reflexivity.

These, then, are all but one of essential components of our theoretical framework and the major issues, both theoretical and practical, which they are designed to explicate. The theoretical framework has, we believe, the additional function and advantage of generating insights into the whole question of a 'multicultural Australia'. This was touched upon at the start of the chapter and now merits rather more attention, although it is not, of course, the prime focus of the Report. Given this last caveat, why do we believe that the macro-issue requires some comment here? And, conceding the worthwhileness of our argument on this point, what final stream of analysis needs to be fitted into our theoretical framework to cast light on both the broader issue of the nature of a multicultural Australia and the specific issue of a particular style of approach to the question of the use of ethnic teacher aides in Australia?

The Prime Minister (1978) noted when introducing the Galbally Report on Migrant Services and Programmes that this was a 'critical time' in the encouragement and formation of a multicultural attitude in Australia. Indeed this is so, though perhaps less in the rhetorical way meant by Fraser and more in that so many of the assumptions and implications underlying the use of the term 'multiculturalism'[16] have not been perceived, let alone acted upon, in this country. We consider it to be particularly important that the social control aspects of the question be brought to light before they become embedded in a new social reality. It is a time when important social change both is occurring and is being interpreted, re-interpreted, transformed into social policy and then presented as a new social reality.

For example, we can contrast the perspectives adopted by the present Federal Government and Al Grassby, Minister for Immigration in the Whitlam government and presently Commissioner for Community Relations. On the one hand, there is the Liberal government's call for the development of a multicultural attitude in Australia. This call indicates that the government is still arguing from an integrationist position which holds that multiculturalism has not yet occurred and is merely an attitude to be constructed, managed and then interpreted publicly. In effect, this is ignoring the actuality of social relations and leads the government to behave as if the setting up of government policy establishes or legitimates the possibility of the form of social relations associated with a multicultural society. The social relations are then constructed once the social policy has been defined. This is very much a systems management[17] mode of thinking. On the other hand, we have a position, best exemplified by Grassby, which still falls within the systems management stream of thinking but which does emphasise that all must have an awareness of the actuality of a multicultural society. His argument is that we must deal with an existing reality, that is, that multiculturalism is already present in concrete social relations.

It is our belief that the politics of ethnicity is becoming the key issue in the transformation of Australia's polyethnic reality to a vision of a multicultural society. A sociology of knowledge framework[18] combined with a more 'conventional' political analysis should cast light on all too frequent simplistic assumptions which are made about the role of 'the State', but only if these strands of analysis are entwined with a further, and final, strand built around an analysis based on a systems management perspective. We argue that the systems management approach enables us to better understand the processes involved in the government's efforts to contain the increasingly obvious contradictions between its own statements and actions and the changing nature of Australian society and culture.

We would emphasize that these two perspectives combined (viz. sociology of knowledge and systems management), provide one important part of the story. We do not suggest, however, that they can provide a complete description and explanation of how and why 'multiculturalism' as a concept arose when it did in Australia and how attempts have been made to translate that concept into policy. The complete story could only be gained through examining as well the impact of ethnic pressure groups (for example, the Australian-Greek Welfare Society), the social mobility of ethnic minorities and consequent impact on electoral policies, and the role of individuals (for example, Stan Piperoglou and Spiro Moraitis of the Melbourne Greek community and Petro Georgiou of the Liberal Party). Furthermore, any explanatory account of ideology formation, in this case the public definition of Australian multiculturalism, must be placed within the political and economic context; for example, the growth of the 'new federalism' in Australia in the late 1970s, the relationship between government and bureaucracy, and an economy characterized by high unemployment and inflation and low productivity. Specifically, one example would be the ending of Australia's long economic boom of the 1950s and 1960s, a boom resting heavily upon the exploitation of immigrant labour. Awareness of this exploitation has led to some increase in working-class ethnic organizations as well as to spontaneous outbursts such as the Broadmeadows strike at the Ford plant in Victoria.

Naturally, these matters lie beyond the scope of our Report. All we can do here, having established the importance of why the broader context and debate needs always to be kept in mind when discussing our particular research on ethnic teacher aides, is sketch what we mean by systems management and what sort of relevant insights it can provide for us. In this latter case, note will also be made of the usefulness for our research of O'Connor's thesis of 'the fiscal crisis of the State'.[19]

It would be fair to say that support for 'multiculturalism' is an article of faith for all the major political parties in Australia in 1980. Government rhetoric and policies espouse multiculturalism, structures have been established both to symbolize and to investigate multiculturalism in Australia (for example, the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs), and funds have been directed towards the general area, especially in education.[20] In that sense, policies only now are beginning to 'take hold' to affect 'the system' (in our case, the education system) and to provide funds and structures.

At the same time as concrete matters are taking place on that level, there is a growing body of theoretical criticism of the ambiguity and confusion surrounding the use of the term 'multiculturalism'.[21] There is, moreover, evidence of resentment at the school level of the scope and priority of funding being given to 'ethnics' and to programmes supposedly to do with multiculturalism.[22] That is, a contradiction and tension is growing as policies operate on one level and critiques are formulated on other levels.

This contradiction could be dismissed as merely the inevitable result of a conservative government's ineptitude in implementing policy, or as a simple time-lag between decision-making and system effects. No doubt there is some truth in both of these assertions. But a more powerful explanation stems from a belief that the government had never really intended to come to grips with the intricacies of translating multicultural rhetoric into policy. Rather, the government was concerned with the painless containment of pressures and tensions (for example, from ethnic pressure groups) within the society.

The sociology of knowledge component of our theoretical framework provides one important analytical tool for research in this area. But, like Martin's approach, upon which it is largely based, it has its limitations. In particular, Martin's work has no notion of class (indeed, she dismisses class explanations as 'ideological') and neglects the importance of the relationship of different groups to the means of production. Martin's is a pluralist view of society. Groups compete for power; a central power being the control of definitions of and access to social knowledge. The end-point of this process, given a critical mass of ethnic participation, is claimed to result in non-ideological knowledge about migrants. It follows then that a non-ideological policy of multiculturalism can be formulated -- a highly debatable point.[23] To understand the operation of class, and also status and the relationship to the means of production (that is, legitimacy, authority and economic power)[24] is an integral part of the broader contextual analysis which we have undertaken for our research on ethnic teacher aides. Equally integral is our work on systems management.

It is not our purpose in this Report to expand upon notions of systems thinking and systems management.[25] Suffice it to say here that the basic assumption is that of a systematic reduction of social structure to a particular set of technical rules; that these rules are based on notions of problem-solving by 'experts' (albeit in an apparently consensual and co-operative manner) at levels both of systems and sub-systems (for example, schools), and that these rules carry the implication of a separation between culture and structure. Culture can be managed, even created, by the formation of structure (such as the Institute of Multicultural Affairs). 'Culture' is perceived as a form of instrumental rationality that separates structure and culture and leads to the social structural domination of culture (instead of the reverse). Clearly this is a complex and enormous question. Our interest here is in the insights that a systems management form of analysis can provide into the creation and role of structures and in the manipulation of 'culture' (which seems especially peculiar when discussing multiculturalism!). In reality, though this would be strongly denied by the makers of these structures, structures are formed without clear reference to an articulated normative framework. This lack of a normative framework becomes critical when one talks of a multiculturalism incorporating values which transcend pluralism (values, of course, which have not been articulated). This is a debate in itself, especially in respect of education in Australia, and leads onto questions about the need for a core curriculum in a multicultural Australia. We need not pursue that here: our interest lies in the separation of structure and culture and the adoption by government of problem solving techniques by experts. Thus, in terms of our analysis, the major recurring themes of the position most closely associated with the present Federal Government could be summarised as follows:[26]

1. Multiculturalism is an attitude to be encouraged, not a present reality.

2. The present is seen to be a critical time in this regard.
3. A systems-management approach is adopted in which 'ethnics' are seen as 'problems' to be dealt with.
4. 'Integration' is a key concept, implying that ethnics are to be actively involved in the implementation of policy but not in the actual constructing of knowledge on which policy might be based.
5. All of the above attitudes stem from a particular conception of the role of government in late capitalist society.

Within the obvious constraints imposed by the Australian federal structure, these comments would apply also to the style of thinking and action characterising the Victorian government's position vis-à-vis such matters as ethnic teacher aides.

The approach underlying the themes is classic systems management thinking, only thinly disguised by the emphasis on ethnic 'self-help'. As noted above in the list of recurring themes, the belief in self-help is on the surface an instrument to increase participation but, in fact, it relates more to an interpretation of implementing decisions already taken than of 'clients' entering into the defining of knowledge, or even, of the original problems. The motivation of the present Federal government has less to do with ethnic concerns and more to limiting the role of 'government' in financial terms, especially at the federal level.[27] Why there appears to be such a disjunction between the rhetoric used by the present government and its actual practices can be traced, at least partially, to the Fraserian notion of the role of government. We have taken as a fruitful hypothesis that of James O'Connor[28] who argues that the crucial problem currently facing middle-class Western governments is that of minimizing taxation of their support group, yet also providing

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an expected/suitable level of governmental services. Whilst any detailed reference to O'Connor clearly is beyond the scope of this Report, it is apparent that there are various ways of meeting this dilemma, all of them seeming to be relevant to our 'below-surface' analysis: for example, the limiting of governmental intervention, the constant exhortation of 'self-help', non-government agencies and community assistance, and the shifting emphasis on what is an appropriate area for governmental action (that is, re-defining the public definitions of what counts as a social service or of what counts as an acceptable migrant -- viz. the 1978 policy statement on the 'entrepreneur' category as being highly desirable).

One or two concrete examples should show clearly what an analysis along the lines of systems management (and the peculiar role of the state envisaged by the government) would look like. In the crudest sense, the Galbally[29] and Participation[30] Reports form part of the Australian government tradition of establishing bodies of inquiry both to defuse discontent or potential discontent and also to direct or redirect debate and policy, that is, they establish the parameters of debate and lay the ground for possible policy decisions. In another sense, these Reports represent the more recent and sophisticated approach of systems management thinking. An example of this in the Participation Report is reflected in the stress on corporate planning, managing, monitoring and controlling, which is further emphasised still by the following statement:

> From certain aspects this Report can be seen as a first step towards corporate planning in ethnic affairs.31

Similar examples to be found in the Galbally Report include:

> Accordingly we have developed what we believe is an appropriately integrated package of measures for introduction over a period of three years.32

This packaging and containing approach is intensified by a succeeding statement which comments that:

> Overall we believe the package we recommend gives the necessary balance and is as restrained as possible in its demands on the Government's budget ...33

And again the effect is heightened by a statement like:

> We believe the moves should be used to bring about more effective use of resources ...34

The Report, it should be noted, does not produce an official construction of 'effective' reality to support this claim.

We are not arguing against management per se in discussing these Reports. Rather, it is our interpretation that such an emphasis on managing and packaging surely runs counter not only to government notions of bringing about multiculturalism through self-help and community participation, but also appears to run counter to the very notion of multiculturalism as something highly related to diversity. Thus, what is actually happening would appear to be a paradox in terms both of the techniques to attain a multicultural attitude and the public definition of multiculturalism. A significant part of our broad contextual argument would be that this is neither paradoxical nor accidental if government policies are analyzed in terms of a systems or corporate management perspective.

To reiterate, our point in the last few pages has been to emphasise that analysis of the matter of ethnic teacher aides raises many important issues about the nature of Australian multiculturalism and the character of government policies and thinking on that matter. The reverse side of the coin, is that the question of ethnic teacher aides cannot be understood fully without reference to that broader context.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See, for example, the Smolicz-Bullivant debate in *Education News*, 17(2), 1980.

2. For an examination of this issue, see L. Foster and D. Stockley, 'Multiculturalism in the Australian Context'. Paper presented at the Conference of the Sociological Association of Australia and New Zealand, Canberra, A.C.T., July 1979.

3. The sociological literature discussing methodological issues at a conceptual level ranges from the classics of Durkheim and Weber to the writings of contemporary workers like A.V. Cicourel, *Method and Measurement in Sociology* (New York: The Free Press, 1964), A. Giddens, *New Rules of Sociological Method* (London: Hutchinson, 1976) and M. Bulmer (ed.), *Sociological Research Methods* (London and Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press, 1977). The orientations derived from these sources, which have influenced our present work, have been in the direction of close linkage between sociological theory and methodology and of aiming for understanding and explanation rather than merely description.

4. For the concept of dialectic in sociological research, we have found the work of Berger, Berger and Kellner particularly fruitful. See, P. Berger, B. Berger and H. Kellner, *The Homeless Mind* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1973). See also, the introduction to P. Connerton (ed.), *Critical Sociology* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1976), pp.11-39.

5. Foster and Stockley, *op.cit*.

6. P. Filmer et al., *New Directions in Sociological Theory* (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1972), p.11.

7. J. Martin, *The Migrant Presence* (Hornsby, N.S.W.: George Allen and Unwin, 1978), p.11.

8. *Ibid*., p.10.

9. *Ibid*., p.22.

10. See A. Schutz, *Collected Papers Vol.I* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1962) and P. Berger and T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1971).

11. Berger, Berger and Kellner, *op.cit*., p.18.

12. R. Sharp and A. Green, *Education and Social Control* (London, Henley and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), p.30.

13. Filmer, *op.cit*., p.12. 'Glossing', according to sociologists of this orientation, refers to 'operational definitions' used to describe one's world.

A theoretical framework must be constructed that enables one to deal with both types of question, the macro and the micro, and which unearths the processes linking the two. This involves constructing a theoretical framework built primarily around a particular variant of the sociology of knowledge, a stress on reflexivity and the dialectic and an analysis based on the concept of systems/corporate management. All three strands played an important and complementary role in our research, though one or the other inevitably was dominant in particular parts of our research.

17. See, for example, Fred Emery, Systems Thinking (Middlesex, Eng.: Penguin, 1969) and Futures We're In (Canberra: Centre for Continuing Education, 1975); L. Von Bertalanffy, Robots, Men and Minds (New York: George Braziller, 1967).

18. For example, we have drawn, in particular, on the sociology of knowledge framework presented in Jean Martin, The Migrant Presence (Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1978), especially Chapter I, Definitions.

19. J. O'Connor, The Fiscal Crisis of the State (New York: St. Martins Press, 1973).

20. The total acceptance and rapid implementation of the report Migrant Services and Programs: Report of the Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants (known as the Galbally Report) by the Fraser Government since May 1978, the overt support given to the establishment of an ethnic broadcasting service by the Prime Minister himself, publications at the federal level which have then received wide dissemination such as the Committee on Multicultural Education, Education for a Multicultural Society (Canberra: Schools Commission, 1979), Commonwealth Education Portfolio, Discussion Paper on Education in a Multicultural Australia, 1979, G. Smolicz, Culture and Education in a Plural Society (Canberra: Curriculum Development Centre, 1979); all attest to intensified activity in the policy area to respond to perceptions of a 'multicultural Australia'.

21. See, for example, the arguments presented in B. Bullivant, "The STEPS Case Against Multicultural Education: Some Cross-National Findings", paper presented at the Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Education, Melbourne, November 1979 and M. Skilbeck, "Core Curriculum for a Multicultural Society", paper presented at the Congress of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science, Adelaide, May 1980.

22. Discussed in later Chapters in this Report.

23. Lewins' discussion of models of society (one of which is that of multiculturalism) as ideologies is given in F. Lewins, "Multiculturalism and Ideology", paper presented at the Conference of the Sociological Association of Australia and New Zealand, Canberra, July 1979.

24. We are using these terms according to Weber's discussion, to be found in H. Gerth and C.W. Mills (trans. and edited), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974 [reprinted], pp.180-183).

25. The brief conceptualization of systems thinking is drawn from Emery (1969, 1975) and Von Bertalanffy, op.cit. The particular notions of systems management that we adopt here, owe much to the work of members of the Centre for the Study of Innovation, School of Education, La Trobe University and to continuing work in the journal Arena.

14. Here we are accepting the interpretation of reflexivity expressed by A. Gouldner, *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology* (London: Heinemann, 1971), pp.488-500.

15. Accommodating to the political implications of research raises a number of methodological issues. Those which for us have had special relevance are:

    (a) the demarcation of empirical-descriptive from empirical-theoretical work, discussed by Bulmer (*op.cit*., 1977) in the first two chapters of his book with a caution that one must be clear on the purpose of each type; (b) the dialectic between researcher and data which receives attention in Cicourel (*op.cit*., 1964) and concerning which he is able to sustain an argument for types of research in which investigator variables are acknowledged and turned to some advantage; and (c) the concept of reflexivity -- Giddens (*op.cit*., 1976, p.8) starts from the following point -

    > '... social theory must incorporate a treatment of action as rationalized conduct ordered reflexively by human agents, and must grasp the significance of language as the practical medium whereby this is made possible'.

    Each of these issues has received some consideration in this and the previous chapter.

16. For discussion of the concept, see, A.J. Grassby, *A multi-cultural society for the future* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1973); Committee on Community Relations, *Final Report* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1975), especially Chapter 4 "A Philosophy of Community Relations"; B.M. Bullivant, "Social Control and Migrant Education", *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 12(3), 1976, pp.174-183; D.R. Cox, "Pluralism in Australia", *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 12(2), 1976, pp.112-117; J.J. Smolicz, 'Ethnic Cultures in Australian Society: A Question of Cultural Interaction", pp.41-74 in S. Murray-Smith (ed.), *Melbourne Studies in Education* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1975); H.R. Townsend, "Towards a Multicultural Society", pp.28-40, Murray-Smith (ed.), *op cit*.; The Australian Ethnic Affairs Council, Australia as a Multicultural Society (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1977); N.W. Bostock, "Multi-Cultural Australia: A Desirable and Realistic Policy Aim?". *Education Australia*, 1(3 and 4), 1977, pp.23-24; J.I. Martin, *The Migrant Presence* (Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1978); *Australia's Multicultural Society*, La Trobe University Meredith Memorial Lectures, 1978; F.W. Lewins, "Multiculturalism and Ideology", paper presented at the Sociological Association of Australia and New Zealand Conference, Canberra, July 1979. It is interesting to note the usage of the various terms 'multi-cultural', 'multicultural', 'pluralism', 'cultural interactions' and of the present and future orientations of the writers in considering the multicultural state of Australian society.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION: INTERVIEWS

Many people were interviewed in this research project, whether as representatives of bodies known to be involved or interested in the question of ethnic teacher aides or as individuals known or suspected of having interest or influence in the thinking, funding or disseminating of matters to do with ethnic teacher aides. Naturally the bulk of our interviewing was concerned with organizations and individuals within Victoria, though we also interviewed a number of relevant people in New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory and at the Federal level.

The major questions we sought to explore via interviews were:

- the origins of the notion of ethnic teacher aides in Australia.
- the processes behind the formulation of policy-making on ethnic teacher aides at both Federal and State levels.
- Federal/State responsibility, particularly re finance, for ethnic teacher aides.
- the perceived place of ethnic teacher aides within the broader context of multicultural education and multiculturalism.
- possible differences between the political parties' attitudes towards ethnic teacher aides.
- past and present attitudes and experiences towards ethnic teacher aides.
- likely future trends in the employment and role of ethnic teacher aides.

26. These themes appear in, for example, M. Fraser, Report and Ministerial Statement accompanying the tabling of the Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants. *Weekly Hansard*, House of Representatives, May 30, p.2731.

27. This is a reference to the Fraserian concept of the 'new federalism'. For a discussion of Liberal and Labor use of the term and its initial application by the Fraser Government, see A. Peachment and G.S. Reid, *New Federalism in Australia: Rhetoric or Reality?*, APSA Monograph 18, 1977. For an interesting critique of Fraser's 'New Federalism' in terms which fit well with this report's interpretation, see Peter Groenewegen, "Fraser and the New Federalism", *Arena*, 44, pp.10-18.

28. O'Connor, *op.cit.*,

29. F. Galbally (Chairman), *Report of the Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1978).

30. The Ethnic Affairs Commission of New South Wales, *Participation Report to the Premier* (Sydney: Government Printer, 1978), p.331.

31. *Participation*, *op.cit.*, p.6.

32. The Galbally Report, *op.cit.*, p.6.

33. *Ibid*.

34. *Ibid.*, p.121.

- perceived advantages and disadvantages of ethnic teacher aides.
- issues to do with the unionization of ethnic teacher aides.

The chapter discusses the interviews in the following order:

- political figures.
- Federal bureaucracy interviews (including Schools Commission and the Commissioner for Community Relations and staff).
- State Department of Education officials.
- representatives of Teachers' Unions, Principals' Association, Miscellaneous Workers' Union, Parent and Ethnic organizations.

Before discussing the actual interviews, a number of points need to be made about them and to be related back to our theoretical framework. First, some respondents insisted upon non-attributable interviews or sections of interviews. Others responded only to parts of the questionnaires and accompanying open-ended interviews. In terms of our theoretical framework, these responses represent control devices on knowledge, whilst non-responses, though representing even sharper efforts to control knowledge, nonetheless still form part of our data base. A final point should be made here. A central plank of our theoretical framework concerns the use of a systems or corporate management analytical perspective. The use of such a perspective, as with most analytical instruments, reduces the confusions, disagreements and 'open spaces' of interviews to an apparently ordered arrangement: in no way is this to suggest that the actual thinking and acting of the participants occurred in that ordered fashion. We are not arguing for order where there patently is none.

1. Political figures

Two matters should be stressed at the outset of this section. First, there is limited coverage in this section, partly because political figures were reluctant to talk, though delighted for us to talk with members of their staff, and partly because it was soon evident that anything to do with ethnic teacher aides was only on the fringe of the general political consciousness, so the 'law of diminishing returns' set in very quickly for political interviews. Second, 'political' in this section refers specifically to politicians. An integral part of our research analysis is the contention that research in this area is inevitably 'political' on a whole range of levels, but here we refer only to interviews with politicians.

All politicians contacted, 4 State and 1 Federal, expressed great willingness to assist us, expressed their interest in our research and all but one immediately designated a particular member of their staff to whom we should speak. All of the politicians approached had responsibilities in the areas of education and/or ethnic affairs and all were Ministers or Shadow Ministers in those portfolios.

The unwillingness of the politicians generally to talk directly to us can be interpreted in a variety of ways:

- a standard response by politicians to a relatively 'low level' inquiry like ours.
- a realization of the importance of our general research area, but an unwillingness to be publicly committed to a particular stance on a sensitive issue (beyond broad enthusiasm 'for' multiculturalism and multicultural education).

- sheer lack of knowledge about the particular question of ethnic teacher aides -- something which surprised us less and less in all areas as our research progressed. However, this did not prevent an apparent eagerness to 'look forward to seeing the report' of our project.

No political figure hesitated in stating unequivocally that ethnic teacher aides were 'a good thing': clearly, it would be impolitic to oppose the idea on the face of it, even if little was actually known about it, since it was seen to be part of a commitment to multiculturalism in Australia. Most discussion remained on this level of generalities, supporting the idea of ethnic teacher aides yet also saying that bilingual teachers would be needed, that the ethnic communities could no longer be neglected and that the schools generally must do more in the area of multicultural education, especially regarding language teaching.

Two major problems, however, were envisaged. Some of the State politicians were aware of the issue of aide unionization (the dispute between the Victorian Education Department and the Miscellaneous Workers' Union over the pay and conditions of work of teacher aides) and saw that as a possible source of friction, particularly since the teacher unions were known to have mixed feelings about growth in the employment of teacher aides (on the one hand, they were a sign of teacher professionalism; on the other hand, they could cut into the limited funds available to teachers and could even become 'cheap teachers'). The union issue will be returned to later in this chapter.

The other source of concern centred on the matter of financing and here there was a sharp split between the Federal and State parliamentarians: here it should be noted that we interviewed only one Federal Minister, but that similar views about funding matters were expressed by Federal public servants with whom we discussed funding for ethnic teacher aides. State politicians, whether in Government or Opposition, knew that ethnic teacher aides were funded federally through Schools Commission Supplementary Grants and simply wished that funding to be continued and, if at all possible, extended and made more secure. Perhaps not surprisingly, the reaction of the Federal Government was somewhat different. Indeed, it was strongly suggested to us that since our research project had funding implications, we should consider a seminar with the relevant Federal Education Department people once our project was completed, so that the people concerned should have knowledge of policy possibilities within the project. This was linked with an attitude of cautious sympathy for the idea of ethnic teacher aides, the worry being that it might result in the unthinking proliferation of yet another school support service and yet another financial commitment. This attitude reflected the Federal Government's drive for financial restraint (analysed in Chapter II in the broader terms of O'Connor's alleged 'fiscal crisis of the state'). More important, it reflected a strong Federal Government (and elsewhere) desire to make migrants/ethnics and their children become part of the 'normal teaching process' as rapidly as possible, with teachers alone, not support services (except in the most severe cases), being responsible for that teaching process. In one sense this sounds enlightened and sensible; for example, 'ethnics' are not to be perceived as being 'different'. Yet, a less sympathetic interpretation of the position is rather more compelling. 'Special needs' are to be eliminated. 'Normally' is to be the ambition and the result. Of course, one could too easily caricature this attitude. Nevertheless, an argument in terms of social control and the constructing of conservative public definitions in the whole multicultural area seems very much in order. The elimination of the concept of 'special needs' remains in the old assimilationist model, though this would be strongly denied, and also flies in the face of the rhetoric (e.g. the Galbally Report) about the maintenance of ethnic diversity. It represents attempts to construct categories and the parameters of acceptability, not just to control financial commitments

On the most immediate political and financial level, the Commonwealth felt that ethnic teacher aides should be purely a short-term phenomenon -- say, 5 to 6 years. In contrast, State interviewees seemed automatically to see them as a long-term proposition. Similarly, there appeared to be a Commonwealth resentfulness, as part of the Fraserian 'new federalism', at the readiness of the States to take up new schemes and expect concommitant Federal financial assistance without authority. This will be returned to in terms of the Schools Commission later in the chapter.

A final thrust in these interviews which needs to be examined is the emphasis on the 'community' function of ethnic teacher aides. As with 'multiculturalism', 'community' currently is a most fashionable term and a term which tends to elicit widespread support. Analysis in terms of our theoretical framework indicates however, that it is here being used in a conservative manner to embed in the public consciousness a limited definition of 'community' and also to encourage a shift of the economic burden away from government and towards community/ethnic community and individual 'self-help'. None of that necessarily means that ethnic teacher aides used in a community liaison sense is a 'bad thing'. Quite the opposite. It is simply to point out that these schemes are open to manoeuvre, are not to be taken at face-value and are frequently indicative of complex social processes. For example, Commonwealth figures expressed strong opposition to any concept of ethnic teacher aide training, formalisation, unionisation etc. Extended discussion of the point belongs elsewhere in the chapter (e.g. in the quite different opinion of those involved in the Aboriginal teacher aide scheme). Suffice it to say here that this is the transmitting of a restrictive notion of ethnic teacher aide and hence of that aide's 'community' and 'ethnic' function.

To conclude this section, we shall examine a question which arose in a large number of interviews (extending beyond 'political figures' but best dealt with here): namely, Why has New South Wales, in contrast to Victoria, managed to build a much more solid and self-conscious infrastructure for the use of ethnic teacher aides? The following answers can be suggested:

- Victoria has consciously followed an alternative of employing bilingual teachers. Research indicates that that is not the case.
- the New South Wales Labor Government has been more active and committed on a range of ethnic concerns (e.g. the Participation Report). Some are sceptical of this, but it does appear to have been a factor.
- the role of particular individuals (e.g. Phil Mathews) within the New South Wales bureaucracy seems to have been an important factor.
- an undoubted factor must be the different strengths and types of ethnic community pressures in the two States, with the additional factor (as a

> generalisation) of Labor being more popular in ethnic communities, and consequently ethnics having more access to power in New South Wales with a Labor Government than through the non-Labor Victorian Government.

Although at first sight not immediately associated with the matter of ethnic teacher aides, it is within this broader sort of socio-political context that ethnic teacher aides must be viewed.

2. Federal bureaucracies

(a) Commonwealth Public Service

This sub-section covers only Commonwealth Department of Education and Immigration and Ethnic Affairs officials of various types: e.g. people in the Language Teaching Branch, the Migrant Education Branch, the National Aboriginal Education Committee and the inter-departmental working party on multicultural education in Australia.

Perhaps the clearest point to come out of our interviews with these Commonwealth public servants was the destruction of our original tentative view that there would be a definable policy on ethnic teacher aides and traceable policy processes. Such a view was exploded at an extremely early stage of our research as a result of our first round of Federal and State interviews in May 1978. Abandonment of that hypothesis hastened our usage of a sociology of knowledge analytical perspective and strengthened our usage of a systems management perspective to understand what was happening in the linked overtly political and bureaucratic processes.

Very few of the interviewees had any notion or knowledge of the employment of ethnic teacher aides in Australia. As noted above, we were soon disillusioned that a coherent policy and programs was in existence, let alone that any conscious political decision to fund ethnic teacher aides had been taken at governmental level, except at the most general level of funding approval for such matters through the Schools Commission. Funding and thinking was ad hoc and piece-meal, with lack of co-ordination between departments and an undoubted tendency to respond to, rather than initiate pressures and ideas. That may to some degree be the function of a public service bureaucracy, of course.

Given the above serious qualifications, there was an enthusiastic response from interviewees about the idea of ethnic teacher aides, albeit expressed in an unaware systems management style of thought and administration. By this we mean a perception of 'ethnics' as a 'problem' to be 'managed' and 'solved', and a general concentration on the financial and administrative aspects of any schemes involving ethnic teacher aides. None of this should be particularly surprising, especially when we remember (a) the nature of the interviewees and their positions and (b) the lack of knowledge and experience of the use of ethnic teacher aides. To be fair, it was generally conceded that '[it] was obviously only an ad hoc policy -- couldn't be anything else', since no real thought had gone into conceptions of ethnic teacher aides and since there was a lack of resources (staff time, money) to do that within the Federal public service, and that, as one respondent stated, 'The approach has to be a systems-analysis response' (what we term 'systems management').

More specific points concerned complaints about teacher union resistance and inertia to any such new ideas, a complaint that was echoed throughout our interviews and which we shall discuss in more depth when we examine the teacher union interviews and some of the difficulties faced by teachers. A specific example given to us on at least 3 occasions was the behaviour of the teacher unions vis-a-vis the introduction and growth of the Aboriginal teacher aide scheme and the subsequent granting of opportunities for aides to train as teachers. Though most interesting to us, the details of that scheme need not detain us here. The only point that we need look at closely is the disagreement over how much we could learn from the experiences, problems and successes of the Aboriginal teacher aide scheme since its inception under a Schools Commission program in 1974. Disagreement is best summarised under the following points:

- should ethnic teacher aides, as with the battle over Aboriginal teacher aides, be seen as distinct from the usual teacher aide and thereby deserving of special recognition and treatment?

- should career structures be established to enable ethnic (as with Aboriginal) teacher aides to train to become teachers?

- if such training was not provided, would any early success with ethnic teacher aides collapse, as it did with Aboriginal teacher aides, once students perceived the aides as not being 'proper teachers' and therefore as lacking in status? Would the scheme produce 'second-class citizens'?

- would aides alone, then, be able to provide ethnic children with adequate 'achievement models' in the school and community?

- would the ethnic communities have even more problems than the Aborigines because at least the Anglo-Australian dominant culture felt guilty about Aborigines, less so for immigrants, and their plight had become so obvious? Would the situation be complicated by the fact that immigrants simultaneously were both more aggressive and more assimilationist?

- would Federalism tensions also surface over the financing of ethnic teacher aides?

The interviewees most closely involved with Aboriginal education would answer definitely 'Yes' to the first three questions, 'No' to the fourth and 'Yes' again to the last question. We ourselves would fully support those answers from our research experience on ethnic teacher aides. Indeed, we found these discussions on Aboriginal teacher aides most helpful in moulding some of our later interviews and questionnaires and were especially pleased to see the issue of ethnic teacher aides being placed in the wider socio-cultural and political context. Equally, there is no doubt that much can be learned from the experiences of the Aboriginal teacher aides scheme. For example:

- the dilemma over the formalisation, certification and structuring of aides via training etc.

- the excellent work that aides can do as adult models and in community liaison, but the problems that that can cause in terms of status and authority.

- the difficulties revolving around teacher union attitudes, especially with competition for funds and security in a straitened economic climate, searching for professionalism but fearing a lowering of conditions.

- the real dangers of a backlash, both in the teachers and in the wider community, if Aboriginals/ethnics are perceived to be gaining special (and unwarranted) favours.

- the inadequacy of a systems management mode of thinking which thinks only in terms of managed problems and packaged solutions and which does not adopt a far broader cultural perspective.

Yet, although something of great value can be learned from the Aboriginal experiences, we would argue that ethnic teacher aides are unlikely to follow the same path. Our reasons for saying that are:

- the lack of as many 'guilt feelings' by Anglo-Australians for 'ethnics' as for Aborigines, precluding the same degree of financial support.

- the perceived (and probably actual) need for ethnic teacher aides is not as high as for Aboriginal teacher aides.

- there is less agreement within the ethnic communities themselves on the best strategies for change and the best mechanisms.

- the political and economic climate has changed fundamentally since the early 1970s.

(b) Schools Commission personnel

Our interviewee and questionnaire respondents from the Schools Commission had rather different opinions about ethnic teacher aides, moving beyond generalised support diluted by financial worries, and also knew significantly more about the introduction of the concept into Australia and into actual programs. This information was corroborated and expanded in interviews with Mr. Jim Houston, Deputy Commissioner for Community Relations, and correspondence with Dr. Jean Blackburn of the Schools Commission and in the Catholic Education Office's 'Aides pilot study' Report.

The idea of ethnic teacher aides originated in Australia from the Schools Commission, specifically Jean Blackburn and Jim Houston (at that time a Senior Ethnic Liaison Officer with the Commonwealth Public Service). They were not consciously following any scheme when they spent 4 months from October 1974 to March 1975 collecting information for the Schools Commission Report, but they were 'enormously influenced' by Alan Matheson, then Director of the Ecumerical Migration Centre and currently working with the World Council of Churches in Geneva, Switzerland. In turn, Matheson at that time recently had spent a while travelling overseas on a grant and had been strongly influenced by events in the United States, the race riots of the 1960s and the legislation and spending of the early 1970s. Matheson also had been impressed by Paulo Freire-type Roman Catholic radicalism in Latin America on new literacy programs etc. Teacher aides as such already existed in Australia, of course, and there has been some suggestion that ethnic teacher aides existed in a de facto manner in Victoria (the only State) before 1973/74.

The 4 months of work by Blackburn and Houston eventually became Chapter 8 of the first Schools Commission Report (after the 'Karmel Report' Schools in Australia). Ethnic teacher aides were mentioned briefly, albeit explicitly, in that Chapter and that has become much more explicit in later Reports. At least a most important moral commitment had been made. On the other hand, there was certainly no formal policy. In fact, Schools Commission personnel expressed concern that teacher aides in general were funded through the 'disadvantaged schools' program and that the Schools Commission was unable to do more than simply suggest that aides should be employed in schools of high migrant density. No specific job description was given, nor could it be given.

Some examination is needed on this point of accountability and the ability of the Schools Commission to control or direct the spending of funds by the States. Considerable heated disagreement was expressed on this issue by various parties. The Schools Commission people that we spoke to at various times through 1978-1980 felt that they had insufficient control over funds. This was rejected totally by State officials and by officials at the Federal level outside of the Schools Commission. The importance of the issue lies less in who is correct, and more in the way it shows the degree of emotionalism and sensitivity surrounding these sorts of questions, heightened by the fact that our research took place at a time when the very future of the Schools Commission was under a cloud as an independent entity.

Views expressed to us from within the Schools Commission argued that the use of ethnic teacher aides was the most useful single thing to come out of the disadvantaged schools program because it was so clearly 'a specific reaction to a felt need' and because it could, though currently did not, fit so well with a 'scheme of regional co-ordination (e.g. pre-school knowledge, child-care, health etc.) but without expecting ethnic aides to do all those jobs themselves'. Ethnic teacher aide functions should extend well beyond clerical and interpreting roles to reach out towards community involvement and face-to-face contact. Some informal and concrete 'on-the-job' training should be offered to aides for these ends: e.g. in language competency and in inter-personal skills.

Yet again, one of the major barriers to these movements was seen to be the teacher unions, notably in Victoria, which somehow felt threatened by aides and were uncertain as to how they should be used and how they fitted into school programs. Schools Commission reaction to the experiences of Aboriginal teacher aides was to agree that there had been some 'sporadic, mild opposition from ethnic communities seeing [the] concept of aides as a "second-best" model', but that that largely had been overcome as ethnic information services improved. Moreover, ethnic communities now realised that you 'play the game' and accept things until something better appears.

It is opportune to note here that these general comments were reinforced by discussions and correspondence we had with relevant people and organizations in New South Wales. The New South Wales Teachers' Federation emphasised that, as in Victoria and elsewhere, 'there is no official Public Service Board category of ethnic aides'. Rather, 'It does happen that bilingual clerical assistants and aides are appointed in the normal course of events, but this is purely coincidental, not policy ... [it] limits such aides to disadvantaged schools in high migrant density areas'. 'The only exception to this rule has occurred this year [1978] with the setting up of Intensive Language Centres as annexes of high schools (one per metropolitan Region). As part of the special staffing of these centres ethnic aides as such have been appointed'. The Federation personnel then went on to stress the value of these aides.

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Such a situation parallels the Victorian in a number of respects, though it is remarkable to hear the claim that the employment of ethnic teacher aides is 'coincidental'! One can see what is meant here. Nonetheless, it is surprising to be told that the ethnicity of a particular situation is not taken into account when employing people for that situation. One would hope that this thinking has been modified in the last two years. At least there appeared to be no hesitation in the belief that ethnic teacher aides performed very valuable functions, a belief echoed by the New South Wales Department of Education's Language Reception Centre for Secondary Migrant Students. According to the Centre, ethnic teacher aides until 1977 'had only beem appointed to schools which received money under the Disadvantaged Schools Program'. This was the Australia-wide pattern. Aides had been in the system, both primary and secondary, since 1973, but 'always on the individual submission of a school'. Again, this confirms our historical research in Victoria. Ethnic aides were employed in the Language and Reception Centres, established in 1977, from 1978 onwards, but only at the secondary school level where 'Bilingual aides are involved in all sorts of things, probably more in community liaision work than in community language programs but this depends on the school and the personal qualities of the aides. There is no policy nor guidelines on the subject' (our emphasis).

What do these Language Centres in New South Wales think about ethnic teacher aides? 'Positive but concerned about haphazard nature of appointment, lack of training, lack of guidance, lack of distinction between teachers (sic) aide in duties and rate of pay'. All of these attitudes and concerns were to be echoed repeatedly in our Victorian research, as was the fear that there were '... problems however. In a period of high teacher unemployment its tricky to give one category of teachers "head of the queue" status'. Certainly this puts a finger on one of the major concerns, exacerbated perhaps on the other hand by the vulnerability these days of the teacher unions and of the political fashion, justified or not, of 'teacher bashing'. Allied with this has been the anger we found amongst numerous interviewees that 'multiculturalism' and 'multicultural education' were just rhetorical phrases used by politicians to gain 'the ethnic vote' (as if such an entity existed!). Analysis of this lies beyond the scope of this Report; however, there appears little doubt that there is some cynicism, hollowness and self-seeking amongst both politicians and bureaucrats with the growth of a new 'industry' of multicultural concerns. Maybe that is only to be expected. In any event, that possibility means that our sort of analysis of public definitions of knowledge, and of the processes and networks involved, is quite essential. The whole area is complicated by Federal-State financial relations and the 'new federalism' arrangements, the Commonwealth expressing bitterness at the inertia and lack of co-operation of the States and the States complaining of Commonwealth dominance and lack of funding, especially after 1975.

(c) Commissioner for Community Relations and Staff

The main interest here centred on the very expanded conception of ethnic teacher aides with which we were faced in our interviewing. The Schools Commission and New South Wales interviewees wholeheartedly accepted the idea of ethnic teacher aides, but also stressed that expectations should not be too high — that aides should not be expected to fulfill a vast range of tasks demanding many different types of skills. People in the Commonwealth Department of Education and in the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs had reacted with cautious enthusiasm to the idea of ethnic teacher aides, albeit gloomy about the funding required and the fear of another long-term financial commitment. In contrast, Grassby painted a very broad picture of the possible roles to be undertaken by ethnic teacher aides, having changed from an initial reaction of anger that yet another second-rate position was being proposed for ethnics. To quote Grassby: 'The very concept of an Ethnic Aide I feel has been truncated. In every Australian school one of the greatest problems to be faced is the cultural isolationism and often ghetto mentality of the Anglo conformists who are mono-lingual and mono-cultural. It is not enough in a school to have an Ethnic Aide who has a priority to deal with children with English as a second language; it is just as necessary in the interests of good community relations to have Ethnic Aides who can relate to mono-lingual and mono-cultural local inhabitants who have largely lost touch with who and what they are'.

The above question is directed towards the specific question of ethnic teacher aides yet touches the heart of Grassby's broader appeal that it is not a matter of handling an 'ethnic problem', but of changing the attitudes of all Australians, particularly the Anglo-Australians who allegedly have lost their sense of cultural identity. Whilst doubtless an admirable ambition, the question must be whether it is grossly to overload the concept of ethnic teacher aide if these persons are seen as having a pivotal function in attitudinal change. One would be inclined to feel that aides have not the position, training, expertise, authority or even real opportunity to fulfill that goal. Equally, they presumably can contribute in some more limited way; if not with the degree of success initially achieved by Aboriginal teacher aides in a somewhat different situation.

If we accept this 'model' of ethnic teacher aides as too overblown, we must still query whether aides can fulfill the variety of tasks left to them in Grassby's formulation. Even with the caveats that Grassby and his staff stress the urgent need for bilingual teachers, with ethnic (bilingual) teacher aides being only a temporary 'band-aid' and in no way to be seen as the sole factor and solution, it does seem that Grassby and his staff (most particularly the former) have inflated the notion of ethnic teacher aide beyond what it can reasonably bear. This is heightened by the nature of the majority of ethnic teacher aides (in Victoria) -- a matter covered elsewhere in the Report. For instance, community liaison work clearly is both a sensible and practicable part of an ethnic teacher aide's work. However, it is hard to see this incorporating a social welfare function beyond the basic referring of children, parents, relatives to the appropriate agency: that is, aides can perform a referral and a therapeutic role, but without any claim to expertise in law, social work or health. To ask aides to be able to do all of that outside the school, is to court disaster for the aide personally and also to cause hostility from other professions, as individuals or as institutions. Ethnic teacher aides can act as models for children in ethnic groups and as referral agencies for the parents of those children, as well as performing the more usual tasks of translating and interpreting, hopefully thereby drawing the school and community closer together.

3. State Department of Education officials (Victoria)

As with our initial enquiries at the Federal level, one of the very first things that we discovered was that there was certainly no policy on the concept and role of ethnic teacher aides in Victoria. Indeed, there was astonishingly little even basic knowledge about the number and distribution of ethnic teacher aides or of what they did in their job. However, the basic facts leading to this situation were ascertained easily enough -- as we detail elsewhere in the Report.

Legislation was introduced in December 1974 to establish school councils and give those councils the authority to hire aides, funding for ethnic teacher aides (remember, this was not an official or formal category) coming through the Disadvantaged Schools Program. VED interviewees believed that ethnic teacher aides were a Schools Commission initiative and had first arrived in considerable numbers in 1975. Part of the central VED ignorance about the aides can be explained by the VED's and Schools Commission's deliberate policy of encouraging these sorts of schemes to come through the grassroots level, through Area Committees of Regional Directorate representatives, parents, teachers and administration, who controlled the distribution of funds (to employ aides or whatever) once the over-all allocation had been made. For example, in 1978 Victoria had gained $6,000,000 for allocation to 276 disadvantaged schools, schools on average gaining about $50,000 each. Some Area Committees have committed 90% of their funds to aides, but now financial strategies have started to force schools to evaluate more strictly just what the aide does and how effectively it is done. Moreover, shifts in the Disadvantaged Schools Program itself mean that (ethnic) teacher aides since 1979 have to be seen as part of a school program (e.g. of bilingualism) and not simply as an ad hoc individual employment matter.

It should be noted that the Victorian system in these reports is, at the time of writing, the most decentralised in Australia, which helps to explain further why the area is so hazy: e.g. it was even suggested to us at a very high level that aides were probably illegal (in 1979) under Section 15(b)(c) of the Education Act -- we were denied the opportunity to gain further details on this point. Even if this dramatic possibility proved false or exaggerated, there were still a number of tensions centred on the question of funding and the allocation of funds. For instance, a fear was expressed that aides would in fact become a permanent feature of the school system in a de facto sense because of the personal elements involved. That is, we were offered competing perceptions of the issue of job security, aides protesting about the lack of security and long-term commitment and a minority of officials complaining that it was too hard to get rid of aides once they became established in a school. Generally, we would accept the former interpretation as being the more accurate. A variation of this concern over de facto permanency arose from a concern within the bureaucracy, especially from those closely involved in administering the Supplementary Grants Program, that the commitment to aides should be cut back because it reflected an extremely large proportion of expenditure, exacerbated by the decline in funding in real terms. However, political realities and the fact that the ethnic teacher aide innovation generally is accepted to have been quite successful, casts doubt on the likelihood of that cut-back taking place on any scale.

Other difficulties concerned the question of unionism and disputes over rates of pay and conditions, discussed in the next section, and disagreement over how broadly conceived should be the role of the ethnic teacher aide -- given the lack of formalisation and definition beyond sketchy guidelines circularised in the VED Gazette; a sketchiness often encouraged, we might add, by schools who were exploiting aides, by aides who feared for their jobs and didn't want to 'rock the boat' and by schools who liked a degree of flexibility which allowed them to employ aides in varied and innovative ways (see the 'Case Studies'

Chapter for examples on this). Within the VED Northern Metropolitan Region we were given the opinion that aides usually should keep to language, rather than cultural matters, if the two can be so crudely distinguished, and that in any event ethnic teacher aides were too thin on the ground to have much influence. This was in contrast to the more frequent assertion that liaision in a broad cultural sense should be an integral part of the job, 'moving well beyond the strict school parameters' and acting as '"models" for depressed ethnic minorities'. Moreover, in the words of another senior VED official, the important function is 'communication between aides and schools ... this is the major benefit, not teaching ... also reading stories etc. in first language ... and with parent control over aide employment' (though it is uncertain whether this last point was meant to sound quite so unequivocal). Again, from another source, the job is 'to assist schools as required in all matters of communication with parents ... [giving] advice to schools on ethnic backgrounds and how to aid child to adjust' -- which sounds disturbingly assimilationist and falls squarely between the narrow clerical conception and the sweeping cultural change conception.

These sorts of differences (and variations within ranges of differences) show the grittiness and haziness of the research area and the difficulty of making generalizations across many interviews. It also shows the limitations of impersonal questionnaires and emphasises the value of our extensive personal interviewing. Allowing for the point made about generalizations, we can offer the following observations to paint a broad picture of response. Note that the question numbers refer to the Interview Schedule: Department of Education Officials (see Appendix).

- *Question 9*: Only one person (remember, these are from the upper echelons of the VED) knew that aides had started in any number in 1975. All the rest replied 'don't know', even though all were involved in some meaningful way with (ethnic) teacher aides.

- *Question 10*: About 50 percent knew that they were funded through Schools Commission Supplementary Grants, whilst the other 50 percent did not know.

- *Question 11*: About 40 percent replied 'don't know' to the question of where the scheme originated, whilst other responses ranged from the precise 'Pressure group action at the State level together with the findings of a Consultative Committee' to the vague 'schools' (which is hardly an accurate description of how it actually happened).

- *Question 12*: Again, we have the same person responding precisely that 'The scheme started with the employment of teacher aides and developed into the employment of bilingual teacher aides and seems to have been based on overseas models' to the stab-in-the-dark and not very helpful 'just happened' (though in a curious sense that respondent was not that inaccurate!) and to the usual 50 percent who 'don't know'.

- *Question 13*: About 50 percent did not know where we could gain further information on numbers, funding, guidelines etc., but the remainder were able to give us excellent advice on whom to contact and where we might start looking.

- *Question 14:* Our enquiry about the attitude towards ethnic teacher aides ranged from the cheerfully blunt 'Never given it a thought' to the careful 'Strongly supportive but there is concern that schools do not know or clearly define job specifications before selection'. In between, we had a varying degree of support from 'hesitant' to 'fairly strong'. The majority of respondents were 'strongly supportive' and it is worth noting that those who knew most about the aide situation were those most in favour of it. That may not be surprising (and a cynic might term it 'vested interest'), but it could well be food for thought about the value of the scheme.

- *Question 15:* Interestingly, practically nobody was satisfied with the scheme. A couple of interviewees claimed dissatisfaction with the scheme even though previously they had stated that they knew nothing about it, whilst one simply stated that there was 'no scheme' with which to be (dis)satisfied -- which is true enough in a very formal sense of the word. The rest of the interviewees simply point out good reasons why they were not totally satisfied, despite support for ethnic teacher aides. For example, 'Not entirely because many schools do not utilise them properly or expect them to be able to do too much and they may not have all the skills that the schools take for granted. Once in employment the tendency is for more responsibilities to be added'. On a different tack, 'Well I guess so. We have as many as funds permit -- of course we need a lot more'. On a more severe note, reminding us of the earlier remarks about quite widespread hostility, or at least disapproval, towards teachers, we had the assertion that 'Bilingualism is not used at all -- community involvement is not really bilingualism. Teachers are using S[upplementary] G[rants] funding just to do whatever THEY want (not for educational outcomes)'. The only evidence that our research unearthed for this complaint was the over-utilisation of aides for purely clerical tasks especially where aides supposedly had been employed in some peculiarly ethnic capacity. We believe that this has not been an abuse of the scheme as such, but the result of teacher inertia and lack of knowledge: more charitably, teachers themselves are extremely busy. Moreover, without wishing to construct some sort of slanging match between teachers and bureaucrats, it could be added that not all can be left to the teachers' responsibility if the officials cannot devise a comprehensive scheme for ethnic teacher aides, or else believe it to be undesirable that such schemes be constructed at all. In turn, this is exacerbated by the Divisions themselves within the VED keeping strictly to themselves and pointedly making no comments outside their own allotted area, thereby constricting the flow of information and making it hard for senior people in a particular Division to gain any over-view on (say) the uses of ethnic teacher aides. Regional Directors rarely knew anything about ethnic teacher aides except to direct our enquiries to their particular Supplementary Grants Co-ordinator. Only Personnel had any real knowledge on what aides did, how many there were, how they were employed and so on. Obviously all of this could be taken to mean not just a severe demarcation of authority and accountability, as in any systems management mode of operation, but an actual massive disinterest in ethnic teacher aides within the upper echelons of the VED. Lower down, there seemed to be much greater awareness of the enormity of the problem and the need for considerably more direction from the top.

. *Question 16:* This question sought views on actual or potential problems in the employment of ethnic teacher aides and the most convenient method is first simply to list the problems noted by sources.

(a) evaluation needed
(b) numerous industrial problems
(c) role conflict
(d) neither schools nor VED genuinely committed to bilingualism/biculturalism
(e) lack of awareness in schools
(f) neither Commonwealth nor State will accept responsibility for the 'migrant problem' in schools
(g) selection not properly conducted
(h) aides not fully qualified for the responsibilities that they are given
(i) ethnic community factions: e.g. Serbs and Croats, Macedonians and Greeks
(j) conflicts over status and lack of resolution of policy issues (these not specified).

Some comment is needed — curiously, hardly one particular problem was mentioned more than once. Comment (i) clearly is not restricted to ethnic teacher aides, but it does touch one problem: viz. the finding of appropriate models for children of different ethnic backgrounds. For example, ethnic conflicts (Greek/Turkish), but also disrespect for female teachers in some cultures. There is little evidence that that has been allowed for in the hiring and use of ethnic teacher aides. Comment (a) must be largely met by this Report, whilst (b) and (c) are best covered in the section of this Chapter dealing with trade union/teacher union responses. Comments (d), (e), (f) all pertain to the same matter: viz. doubt over the genuiness of the use of terms like 'multiculturalism'. We have drawn attention to this in our chapter on our conceptual framework, stressing the need for a sociology of knowledge analytical framework to look below the surface level of rhetoric. Just how thin is that rhetoric is demonstrated by the things uncovered by the research for this Report. However, it is inadequate merely to call that hypocrisy and to wring one's hands. We could contend with some justification that the translation of rhetoric into reality is always hard, and doubly hard in an area as sensitive and complex as multiculturalism. But we would argue also that much of the rhetoric is deliberately narrow in interpretation, attempting to construct limited public definitions and to shrink the parameters of allowable debate. Furthermore, there is no intention that all of the rhetoric is ever to be translated into practice (note here the conflict and contradications over cultural and structural pluralism). One would hope that a body of research of this type, but only if theoretically informed and going well beyond the merely descriptive, would throw considerable light on the question of multicultural rhetoric and reality in Australia in the 1980s.

Comments (g) and (h) reinforce remarks made in our survey of various groups within the schools and are discussed in more detail there.

- *Question 17:* This question raised the matter of training for ethnic teacher aides and raised the following crunch query: how much training do aides need to do their job properly without making it formalised and certificated so that thoroughly worthwhile aides henceforth are disqualified by the absence of formal qualifications? Some respondents unequivocally supported training both before and after the commencement of employment, either sidestepping the complexities involved or simply not seeing them as being serious. The other 50 percent of respondents were more cautious, suggesting that training should concentrate on language competency, a not infrequent problem with ethnic teacher aides being illiterate in the first language, and should be based 'on the job' and very practical in content. Question 18 probed this area a little further and elicited the following details on the most appropriate form of training:

    - exposure to others already doing it (this was shown by our work to be extremely important, aides feeling very isolated and uncertain about what they were meant to be doing).

- training in translation and interpreting skills, human relations.
- 'how to be a resource person'.

- *Questions 19-21:* These all had to do with the use of both/either bilingual teachers and bilingual/ethnic aides. There was no disagreement that there was a need for both in schools and that their use should supplement each other. We would agree with that as the completely sensible response, with the qualification that all talk about complementarity can fall apart when economic circumstances become very tight.

- *Question 22:* Interviewees were extremely cautious about the likely future of the ethnic teacher aide scheme. Ranging from the tense 'ratshit' to the evasive 'too difficult for me', we had in between the sensible 'It should be extended and in-service training made available. A bilingual aide could be used in more than one school where the demand does not require a fulltime person in a single school' and 'will remain at present level if there is Federal money ... if Supplementary Grants fail can only be pessimistic. Where SG money has been withdrawn the Education Department has managed to find money'. One respondent more bluntly stated that it would all depend on money, which in turn would all depend on political decisions. We find this a rather depressing standard answer. No other considerations except economic are mentioned as being of importance and that is a very narrow view to take, especially when some of the respondents on other questions had given answers which suggested that there were other problems and that, indeed, the scheme should not be allowed to continue without (e.g.) comprehensive evaluation -- an opinion we would wholeheartedly endorse. It would be a matter of concern if ethnic teacher aides were to flourish because money was available or wither because money was short, with little other form of criterion being used. No doubt one could justify the expenditure on political grounds or as a compensation for past ill-treatment/neglect of ethnic communities. No doubt also an amount of good work would be done as a result of the expenditure. However, more rigorous criteria than that must be used when one is discussing the future of the scheme: and, of course, there could be the danger of an ethnic backlash if the system continued in an unevaluated way and consequently proved unsuccessful.

- *Question 23:* Regarding the unionization of aides, 80 percent automatically supported the unionization of ethnic teacher aides, one respondent wished to remain neutral on the issue and the other agreed as long as it didn't limit the schools anyway and would not present aides from being 'terminated' if they were unsatisfactory. No discussions had taken place between any of the Divisions and teacher unions on the unionism of ethnic teacher aides, although the VED by that time already was involved in a dispute on this issue with the Miscellaneous Workers' Union (MWU).

- *Question 25:* All respondents gave a simple and unelaborated 'Yes' when asked whether they saw ethnic teacher aides as a significant form of community-school involvement, and on Question 26 they strongly supported that form of involvement.

- For the rest of the questionnaire, the most disparate and intriguing answers came in Question 27. One interviewee was convinced that it was a community responsibility, but the rest plumped very firmly for State or Federal, splitting 50 percent either way. The first response on the face of it seems quite an enlightened one, though presumably that person still had in mind that it would be financed by government (what else could there be?). Constitutionally, the prime responsibility for education remains with the States, despite the complexities introduced by Federal post-secondary funding and the role of the Schools Commission. The answer to the above apparent paradex put by our interviewees presumably would be a continuation of the Schools Commission pattern of Federal funding allocated through State machinery and with a decided State preference for general grants rather than the Commonwealth's preference for ear-marked grants.

A number of general points already have been made in this Chapter, pulling together the mass of detail that has been presented from the interviews. To pull together this section on interviews with VED officials, what general points can be made?

- the interviews confirmed the Federal level interview conclusions that there was no policy on ethnic teacher aides, nor even any scheme in a formal sense of the term.

- at no time had any conscious decision been made to employ ethnic teacher aides. The initiative and funds had come from the Schools Commission from 1974/75 onwards.

- very little was known about the extent, composition or functions of ethnic teacher aides. Personnel had the most information, as would be expected, but even they could not tell us exactly how many ethnic teacher aides there were or where they were distributed.

- this haziness over conditions of employment was condemned by aides themselves and by some bureaucrats, but many officials felt that the greyness of the area was a positive advantage to flexibility and the avoidance of a restrictive set of guidelines. However, all could join (at least in theory) in protesting about the exploitative rates of pay.

- although little was known by the interviewees about the situation of the ethnic teacher aides, the interviewees were most supportive of the concept and wished to see it continued into the future in a practical way. One could argue that this support based on little knowledge and less experience is simply words, people saying what they think is expected of them. That may be so. It is impossible to judge fully. We would prefer to argue that these senior VED officials made some effort to discover the nature of the situation when we brought it to their attention in our interviews and questionnaires and that they then became convinced of the merits of ethnic teacher aides. Of course, that conviction still may be only skin-deep, but events over the next five years should be the acid-test of that.

- the VED interviewees saw the prime tasks of the ethnic teacher aides as lying in community liaison work and, to a lesser extent, in translating and interpreting, in clerical work, in explaining the ethnic backgrounds of children to teachers and in providing 'models' for children.

- a quite disturbing proportion of the interviewees' responses were concerned with financial matters. Now, this may be an artifact of the researchers' questions. This was guarded against. It is more likely that we were interviewing people whose everyday working function was to think in financial terms, in management and organizational terms, who therefore automatically seized upon money matters as the one concrete thing in a shifting and murky area of which generally they had only just heard. More deeply, this was of course symptomatic of the systems management mode of thought elaborated upon and exemplified earlier in this Chapter. On this point, it is worth noting that as of December 1980 (the time of writing) the VED has publicly announced its intention of restructuring the Department under the leadership of a 'corporate management' team, with the VED henceforth to be proudly run on 'corporate management' lines of efficiency and economy -- QED.

4. Representatives of Teachers' Unions, Principals' Association, Miscellaneous Workers' Union, Catholic Education Office and Parent and Ethnic Organizations.

(a) Catholic Education Office

When conducting our interviews at the Federal level, a number of the more knowledgeable interviewees suggested that we should contact the Catholic Education Office, partly because at that time it was, with the Victorian and New South Wales Governments, conducting a survey into migrant needs in schools in those two areas, and partly because it was felt to be a progressive force within the general issue of the use of (ethnic) teacher aides (given the high proportion of ethnics in the Catholic schools).

Our two interviewees in the Catholic Education Office had both been involved with the Schools Commission multicultural program and saw ethnic teacher aides as contributing to that wider goal. Teacher aides could be funded through the Schools Commission or through the normal staffing schedule for Catholic schools. This was identical with the State system, though in fact not that many ethnic teacher aides (by our reckoning) actually were funded through the latter mechanism. Most of the Catholic schools' ethnic/bilingual (they preferred the latter) teacher aides worked with the classroom teacher, were not necessarily literate in their second language (a common problem) and mostly hence were timid about using that second language. The April 1978 Schools Commission Report was believed to have gone some way towards clarifying the use of ethnic teacher aides. However, it was still very messy for aides in general and there was no definable range of activities that they could or should do. The Catholic Education Office personnel felt that ethnic teacher aides should be trained in interpreter skills and 'they are probably preferable to interpreters as they are on the spot'. This ignored the facts that interpreting is a highly skilled exercise and that the Office previously had pointed out the difficulties of having aides literate in both languages. Still, it would certainly be true that the ethnic teacher aide 'on the spot' should have an immediacy and rapport which may be lacking in one called-in from the outside. This would count as part of the most important liaison work between community and school that ethnic teacher aides should be undertaking. An additional complication could be community tensions stemming from professional interpreters' fears that their role was being usurped -- and concern also was expressed about the use of interpreters from the ethnic communities who gained power and status from their role and would be most reluctant to lose that to aides (especially if young and female?). It is within this sort of context that we must view the Office's conviction that ethnic teacher aides should be trained on how to establish trust between schools and parents and that teachers themselves must be given In-Service training on how to use Ethnic Teacher aides most effectively.

(b) Ecumenical Migration Centre

This is a secular organisation founded 17 years ago and currently working with the Greek, Turkish, Timorese and Indo-Chinese communities in teams of a qualified Australian Social Worker and an ethnic worker.

The E.M.C. interviewees stressed that the multicultural rhetoric had yet to be translated into reality (something with which we could concur) although generally there was more awareness of a multicultural society in education than in social welfare and other related fields. Referring specifically to ethnic teacher aides, the E.M.C. felt that 'they may be in a ghastly position until their role is defined'. Pursuing the same line as the Catholic Education Office, the E.M.C. argued that we 'need to build in structures and support. They (aides) would be the immediate (emergency) go-between between parents and teachers - can't always wait for an interpreter...necessary to make sure they have skills in their own language'. Moreover, aides should be able to explain to parents what the schools are trying to do, especially those things which are quite different to the expectations of ethnic communities towards schools in their native countries. This would involve also the use of ethnic teacher aides (the E.M.C. too actually preferred the phrase 'bilingual teacher aides') as advocates for parents and for school staff.

Against this positive support and concern, the E.M.C. expressed a worry: 'Do we use ethnic aides in schools to make the parents conform? e.g. "This is what we do, we can now explain in your language what we want you to do"'. This may seem to be an insightful and astute remark, but it really gets us nowhere. Aides may well be used in manipulative ways, but it would be quite paranoid to view that in any developed conspiratorial way. Obviously ethnic teacher aides are being used in a simple-minded problem-solving manner for which the corporate management metaphor is most apt. But to analyse the E.M.C. statement is immediately to conclude that any manipulation must be much greater if the ethnic communities lack English language and dominant-culture skills and have little idea of the structure, aims and expectations of the school system. The E.M.C. argument is like the truism elaborated in Bourdieu and Passeron's work on education and cultural reproduction: of course schools (and families) have a prime function of reproducing the culture and social relations. That should not astonish us. Equally, access to English language mastery and to the dominant culture must give children of ethnic backgrounds a better chance of themselves manipulating the system, of changing the culture and of working towards the transformation of exploitative social relations. Without the necessary knowledge and skills, and this Report argues that ethnic teacher aides can contribute in some meaningful way to expanding this knowledge and skills, the children are socio-economically crippled in Australian society as it currently is structured. The more critical worry must be whether we expect still that ethnics must sacrifice their cultural identity as the price for entry into the dominant Anglo-Australian culture.

(c) Ethnic, parent and teacher unions and associations

This section covers a great diversity of associations, ranging from parents' associations heavily involved in everyday school matters to one or two ethnic community associations who clearly had little formal interest or expertise in schooling. We have here also the Miscellaneous Workers' Union (M.W.U), included because of its involvement in the unionization of ethnic teacher aides. Because of this particular form of involvement we shall cover the M.W.U. and the unionisation issue first.

(Ethnic) teacher aides are in an award-free 'no man's land', covered by the Teachers' Tribunal or the Public Service Board (so far as it was possible to ascertain this). The M.W.U. was extremely concerned about the aides' exploitative rates of pay ($135 p.w. for translating/interpreting on 1978 figures), having been approached by a few ancillary staff in schools on the question of unionism. Equally, the M.W.U. was concerned about treading on the toes of the teacher unions, who claimed that teacher aides were welcome to join their unions yet apparently had not encouraged them because they feared that it could lower the professional tone of the teacher unions. Much of the union issue was not peculiarly to do with ethnic teacher aides and hence we need not dwell on it at great length. Yet some background is necessary, if only to show the sorts of status and industrial barriers that all teacher aides will have to overcome. At the moment (late 1980), it is not clear how the dispute, taken before the State Industrial Commission by the M.W.U. against the V.E.D. ultimately will end. If the M.W.U. finally is successful in gaining better pay and conditions, then it can be expected that teacher aides, presumably including ethnic teacher aides, will join the M.W.U. Currently, very few teacher aides belong to any of the three Victorian teacher unions and relatively more, but still not many, belong to the M.W.U. An influx of ethnic teacher aides into the M.W.U. could have interesting repercussions. The M.W.U. is a union of considerable industrial muscle, but it is not a high status union. Certainly it is not a professional association, nor a union in the sense of the teacher unions. Thus, this could widen the gap of acceptance between teachers and teacher unions; or at least do nothing to reduce the distance between them which exists in the majority of cases.

Where do the teacher unions stand on this? The view of the Technical Teachers' Association of Victoria (T.T.A.V.) is that aides are eligible to join the T.T.A.V. and are encouraged to do so, though in fact very few of them bother. Why is this? First, there is the distance between teachers and aides and one cannot simply condemn teachers for that. They are professionals and perceive ancillary staff as helping para-professionals - an attitude common to any number of professions. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that so many of the (ethnic) teacher aides are employed part-time and hence find it both difficult and unnecessary to become an integral part of the school, let alone join a union. A most unfortunate situation, with an air of inevitability about it and blame on both sides. The teacher aides must wonder what they would gain from joining a union, whilst a number of the part-timers felt no compulsion or obligation to join unions which had only just started to recognize their very existence and actually feared that joining a union could be perceived as 'rocking the boat' in some schools. Remember how little security the aides have. Remember also the stereotype, by no means completely apocryphal, of the 'mum' teacher aide who simply wants to earn a bit of money and is not looking for a career structure. Remember, finally, that the teacher unions (and the M.W.U.) are Anglo-Australian dominated and not necessarily very welcoming institutions for people like ethnic teacher aides.

The Victorian Association of Teachers (V.A.T.), the most conservative of the three unions, was doubtful about the very idea of bilingualism and also raised the point, mentioned earlier in the Chapter from an official source, that the Teaching Act legally may not even allow the employment of teacher aides. The V.A.T. also claimed that it encouraged aides to join, but that very few so far had bothered and actually put that down to aide apathy. This is hardly adequate, as is shown clearly in the analysis above. Perhaps the claim makes more sense when seen in the context of the V.A.T.'s general assertion that Australian secondary school teachers are ignorant and apathetic. That blanket remark is not necessarily what it seems and must be situated in the context of the overt running dispute between the V.A.T. and the more radical and aggressive V.S.T.A. (Victorian Secondary Teachers' Association) for the allegiance of the State's secondary school teachers. Nonetheless, all of the unions could agree on the desirability of aides being unionised, preferably within teacher unions, but perhaps in unions of their own, and could agree further that aides should continue to work under the professional direction of teachers, with this direction and unionism being of mutual benefit both to aide and to teacher. To us as researchers, it is hard to know how much benefit ethnic teacher aides would gain from joining teacher unions. There might be some sense of 'belonging'. Equally, the distance between the majority of aides and teachers could be as great as ever. Certainly the present political and economic climate makes it unlikely that aides would gain much tangible material benefit. Nor are arguments that aides should join as a matter of principle likely to be very compelling as long as aides are in part-time and insecure employment. Tangible material benefit for aides would be more likely to come from joining the M.W.U., but there are the status problems already noted and the possibility that it could cause some unpleasantness with teachers. All of that remains rather obscure, whilst the possibility of constructing a career structure for (ethnic) teacher aides undoubtedly could cause tensions with some teachers.

The only remaining question here is whether the 'ethnicity' of the ethnic teacher aides is, or is likely to be, an issue in aide unionization. Obviously this is a vast and complex area and one upon which there is considerable controversy in Australia. In this Report we cannot hope to grapple with the larger complexities of class and ethnicity and the whole matter of access to power, influence and even identities relative to one's position vis-a-vis the locii of power within the means of production. All we can do here is to jot.down impressions based on our research.

It must be stressed at the outset that none of the interviewees from the unions saw the question in terms of ethnicity. To them, ethnic teacher aides virtually were the same thing as teacher aides. Perhaps more surprisingly, exactly the same type of response was gained from all of the ethnic community, parent associations etc. All favoured unionization of ethnic teacher aides as patently 'a good thing'. It was not questioned, nor seen in any terms peculiarly ethnic. Is this simply an 'oversight' on the part of the respondents or perhaps a failure of the researchers to probe sufficiently? There is probably some truth in the latter, some failure to dig deep enough below the surface in this instance. Probably there is some truth also in the former, remembering that the ethnicity of the ethnic teacher aide was seen to be the central element in the great majority of the other questions. One important factor must be the nature of our respondents, whether from ethnic community organizations or from parents' associations: viz. middle class respondents, generally socially and economically successful, who know extremely well how the formal political system and its rhetoric works (e.g. worldliness about the motives and meaningfulness of the Galbally Report) and how to 'play' that system, yet have less knowledge (and perhaps concern) about such 'nitty-gritty' things like teachers' unions where ethnics so far have had sadly limited impact. Talk about the Vehicle Builders' Union (for example) and the responses would have been dramatically different.

The remainder of the questions and answers will be dealt with sequentially (as in the previous section), followed by some general discussion.

- Question 11 of the individual's section sought information on individual/group enrolment in the initial decisions to employ ethnic teacher aides in Victorian schools. The respondent from the Australian-Greek Welfare Society had been involved as an individual, but no other organization had. This confirms the view that it was a Schools Commission initiative which appeared practically unheralded in Victoria.

- Question 12 of the section referring to the organization responses showed that ethnic teacher aides had been discussed by only a handful of associations and even then not in any systematic fashion. This confirms our original hunch and emphatically reinforces our plea for the need for detailed and systematic research in the area.

- Question 2 (Organization) showed that only 25 per cent of organizations had a policy on ethnic teacher aides and even that was a matter of a passing reference in some broader statement on multiculturalism/multicultural education, e.g. 'Only a slight reference in multicultural education committee document. Updating', and 'Not really a policy on B.T.A. (bilingual teacher aides) but they are included within policy'. This is consistent with the respondents' earlier answers, and is consistent also with our opinions on the sketchiness of available information.

- Question 3 (Organization) asked essentially the same question as 11 (Individuals), with 75 per cent of respondents saying that they had not been involved in the initial Victorian policy or decision-making on ethnic teacher aides. The

Victorian Federation of State Schools Parents' Clubs said that it had been involved in 1973 or 1974 through its presence on the Supplementary Grants Committee, whilst the Australian Greek Welfare Society made the more ambitious (but accurate) claim that 'Yes, we were pretty influential on initial recognition. Helped Schools Commission multiculturalism policy'. In 1974 the Schools Commission had sought grass-roots information and suggestions right across the ethnic communities and the Australian Greek Welfare Society is accepted to have been influential then and since as a large, assertive, articulate and politically astute (in the senses delineated earlier) organization.

- On Question 4, 87.5 per cent of respondents knew that aides were financed through supplementary grants.

- Exactly the same response rate was gained to Question 5, which asked the various groups if they knew how ethnic teacher aides are recruited. The Australian Greek Welfare Society answered 'Haphazardly. We have had a couple of advertisements in Greek newspaper (sic). We now have a list of 20 people and slowly schools are ringing us'. This is an intriguing answer since it shows the strong possibility of a selection filter being inserted outside of the school system as such. This could have quite an impact on the character of the ethnic teacher aides who gain employment if (a) schools are happy to refer to ethnic associations; if (b) aides themselves are known/involved in these associations, and (c) if these associations are as aware and articulate and organized as the one making the statement quoted above. Other comments were that selection 'often was someone you know' (q.v. remark above about possible ethnic networks, though this virtually has not taken place yet in the area covered by our research); 'School Councils'; 'Ideal to recruit locally but doesn't happen' - most significant for our research findings; and 'assume (sic) schools advertise or by word of mouth'.

- Question 6 sought information on who controlled aides 'over the conditions and terms of employment'. A variety of offerings appeared! It is worth dwelling on these answers because they illustrate delightfully the confusion and misunderstanding surrounding (ethnic) teacher aides in Victorian schools. The Victorian Federation of State Schools Parents' Clubs replied that the situation was 'in a mess. All sorts of anomalies between schools have grown up. Rate set by Supplementary Grants (their emphasis)'. This is in striking contrast to the Australian Greek Welfare Society's assertion that there is 'no control over wages. Terms of employment - same as teachers (sic!). There are no proper working areas for some teacher aides'. The Victorian Association for Multicultural Education said that 'control was absolute through School Councils' and this was fully supported by the V.T.U. and the T.T.A.V., although the latter also mentioned the influence both of the V.E.D. and the Regional Supplementary Grants Committees. VICSSO plumped for control by the V.E.D. and the remaining ethnic community associations simply stated that ethnic teacher aides were employed through School Councils.

The confusion and contrary assertions arise not simply from lack of knowledge, central though that is, but also from the fact that the structure of control and the meaning of the term itself is a complicated matter. If we take 'control' in the financial sense, it is clear that the Federal Government ultimately has control. Within those parameters, the Schools Commission has some power of funding and allocation through Supplementary Grants: however, that degree of control by the Schools Commission has diminished rapidly as the Federal Government over the last few years has reduced the independence of the Schools Commission and given it extremely tight guidelines. On the State level, the Area Committees have some discretion over fund distribution through Supplementary Grants, but that is only very limited because school entitlements are quantified on an index of disadvantage. The schools through their School Councils control who is to be employed as ethnic teacher aides. It is not strictly a question for the V.E.D.. Indeed, the decentralised nature of the education system in Victoria gives the V.E.D., as quite deliberate policy, very little say in the matter. Each year the V.E.D. through the Gazette issues guidelines for the employment and conditions of work for (ethnic) teacher aides but, beyond the stipulation that they must not teach, these guidelines are emphatically advisory only. Moreover, some aides do teach, despite the illegality of that. Teacher aide salaries are laid down by the V.E.D. Yet we discovered cases where there were pay discrepancies (quite apart from cases where aides did very different sorts of work for the same rates of pay). It is, therefore, little wonder that the researchers and their assistants frequently were quizzed as a matter of some urgency by many ethnic teacher aides as to what was happening in other schools. Many ethnic teacher aides felt terribly isolated in their jobs. Let's not exaggerate this, however. A number, particularly those employed at (say) 0.2 or 0.4 time were satisfied with what they did and required no more. Moreover, some of the isolation stemmed primarily from the insecurity of the job. But even keeping those two factors in mind, we can only explain the root cause of the aides' sense of worry and isolation by probing the lack of definition of the job, the confusion over expectations and lack of a coherent policy, the competing pressures from various sources on ethnic teacher aides especially (e.g. prejudice of Anglo-Australian teachers, status problems within the ethnic communities, not being a 'proper' teacher and model for the children), and the lack of communication between schools. Ethnic teacher aides and the schools employing them had very little idea of what other schools were doing. We as researchers were not merely seekers of information. We were purveyors of information, as aides and teachers sought to find out what was happening elsewhere - a good example would be the numerous queries on the unionization issue.

Question 7 asked if organizations had any sort of (in)direct control over ethnic teacher aides. Fifty per cent replied 'No'. The other 50 per cent claimed some indirect influence: e.g. helping schools to write submissions for funding for ethnic teacher aides; indirect influence through having a few aides as union members, or indirect through policy formulation. Our conclusions would be that that influence currently is minimal, with awareness of the entire ethnic teacher aide issue only surfacing in any of these associations in the very recent past.

- Question 8 concerned views on ethnic teacher aide training. Twenty five per cent of respondents had no idea whether aides should be trained before and/or after employment. Another 25 per cent supported it. Seventy five per cent supported training after the ethnic teacher aides had begun the job.

- Question 9 probed these answers further by asking what training, if any, would be favoured by the various organizations. The following suggestions were the most popular:

  - background on how V.E.D. works
  - list of priorities in instruction
  - mainly pre-service, explaining how school works
  - individual (not group) training on how to be 'useful' (e.g. resources).

It is apparent that much of these suggestions has more to do with telling ethnic teacher aides 'how the system works', rather than in cultivating particular skills that could be used with children, parents and teachers on an everyday basis. This is in contrast to the V.E.D. interviewees, who tended instead to stress the tangible skills of interpreting and translating and clerical assistance. There is some evidence that the respondents here had in mind that that training would be given on the job by the teachers themselves, rather than through formal pre-service or in-service work. This makes a lot of sense as long as the teachers do actually do that training conscientiously. Unfortunately, it appears that the present approach is much more ad hoc than that and much too dependent on the individual teacher. It is intriguing that these respondents (that is, those external to the V.E.D.) should emphasise to quite such a degree the need to learn one's way through the 'system' of the school and the V.E.D. bureaucracy. Some of this would be useful to the teacher aide: e.g. learning what are one's legal obligations and requirements, workers' compensation matters, access to equipment, library resources, curriculum responsibilities and so on. But explanation of these things sounds like the teacher's function, to explain how to gain access to materials in the schools, the procedure for excursions and so on. Is it exaggerated to propose that the non-V.E.D. respondents placed so much on 'how the system works' because they themselves, as leaders in ethnic, community and parent organizations, need that information, frequently are in an antagonist role vis-a-vis the V.E.D. and are involved in pressure group activities on State and Federal governments? That is, they have a point; but it is exaggerated and their priorities would seem not to be the priorities of most ethnic teacher aides in the school. Perhaps the priorities coincide if the teachers concerned are not fulfilling their function: e.g., exactly how excursion permissions are completed and to whom they are sent; how money is collected; what the legal restrictions are on school and out-of-school activities; what school premises can be used to talk to parents and who needs to be consulted to arrange that, etc.

- Question 10, on the perceived continuing need for ethnic teacher aides, drew 100 per cent absolute support, expressed in the strongest possible terms, with the one caution of 'In the foreseeable future if they are being used effectively'.

- Question 11 probed the answers to Question 10, by asking whether ethnic teacher aides 'would be better replaced by bilingual teachers'. Seventy five per cent of respondents replied that both would be needed, with one respondent feeling that aides should be replaced by bilingual teachers if possible and the final respondent not answering the question and commenting instead that 'Depends for what purpose. Don't like question because bilingual teacher aides can't teach'. We accept that there was some ambiguity in the written question, but the interviews clarified these matters and the overall response was that the two types would complement each other ideally. Certainly this is the belief supported by the researchers. As stressed earlier in this chapter, we do not support any concept of a 'super-aide' performing impossible tasks and supplanting a range of other teachers and community and support staff. That is not to deny that that unreal expectation does exist in a minority of schools that we examined.

- Question 12 answers were completely consistent with answers to Question 11 and with our views on the supplementation of ethnic teacher aides by bilingual teachers. All respondents agreed unequivally with the notion of supplementation.

- Question 13 raised the question which more than any other has dogged the development of the Aboriginal teacher aide scheme: viz. whether a career structure should be provided (or even the 'opportunity given') for ethnic teacher aides 'to train to move into teaching positions eventually'. One respondent replied 'don't know', but pointed out that that association approved of it for Aboriginal teacher aides. Two respondents had no comment. The remainder were very firmly in favour of giving training opportunities. For example, 'Why not a career structure? But why restrict to teaching?' and 'Nobody should be denied opportunities. Question shouldn't need to be asked'. It is apparent that the respondents generally were not aware of the fuss that had accompanied moves to train Aboriginal teacher aides to become teaching assistants and/or teachers. Interview probing soon explained why the respondents had reacted with some surprise to what they saw as an unnecessary question. They had assumed that it would be a question of ethnic teacher aides qualifying for and following exactly the same training and career path as did all other classroom teachers. It had not occurred to them that we could mean that ethnic teacher aides should be given some favourable treatment for training, for example, lacking formal qualifications but gaining access to training on the basis of their experience as aides and their ethnicity itself (language skills and so on). This is one of the possible sources of conflict between teacher and aide that we have referred to elsewhere in the Report, a possibility given more urgency by the reality of high teacher unemployment levels throughout the 1980's. If this possibility of positive discrimination for ethnic communities (through ethnic teacher aides) is to be opposed, one is left wondering yet again how deeply the rhetoric of multiculturalism has penetrated Anglo-Australian attitudes. It is in this sort of example that the study of ethnic teacher aides provides such a splendid microcosm of broader issues to do with multiculturalism in Australia. It is within this context that we must assess the answers given to Question 15, in which the various associations claimed to be actively involved in promoting the employment of ethnic teacher aides. The Australian Greek Welfare Society claimed that it was 'because we believe in education for a multicultural society'. VICSSO conceded that it was 'Not active enough - lack of human resources', but nonetheless was strongly supportive of the use of ethnic teacher aides.

- Various reasons as to why children benefitted from ethnic teacher aides were given in response to Question 14. Reasons given included:

  -'obviously for cultural factors'
  -'benefits children and parents and anyone else'
  -'particularly in personal relationships. We know when schools have a bilingual teacher aide get double turn up to parent/teacher nights. At one school couldn't get rid of parents'.

The only comment to make here is that these are the sorts of answers given by most interviewees as to why ethnic teacher aides are valuable, but not the sort of answers which the non-V.E.D. people had given earlier. There they had concentrated on 'how the system works': here, it is the human element. We find the latter far more compelling.

- Question 17 asked associations to 'describe the task of the bilingual teacher aide'. The following answers were given:

-'cultural transmission'

-'supporting cultural diversity in schools'

-'communication with parents'

-'at the direction of the teacher'

-'accompanying teacher in classroom for better student/teacher communication'

-'interpreter role for all children - should be bicultural'

-'not one task. Depends from school to school and the skills the person has. Need a graded scale recognizing specific skills'

-'translating/interpreting, giving opportunities to improve tasks'

-'at professional judgement of teacher. He/she sets task and teacher aide carries it out. Teacher aide should be directed not initiate. Tasks unlimited'

-'1. Flexible. 2. Under guidance of teacher. 3. Facilitate student/teacher and home/school relationships. 4. Not for individual classroom teacher but for School Council use. 5. Involved in development (of) multicultural curriculum and to bring parents into same. 6. Contact with social worker - take strain off kids interpreting. 7. Written communication, e.g. newsletter in sufficient number of languages'.

These answers are sufficiently comprehensive to cover the range of possibilities. Two interesting points emerge. First, the stress that it must all be done at the professional direction of the teacher. Second, the stress on the 'human' and 'cultural' aspects of the ethnic teacher aides' tasks.

Question 18 follows directly on from these answers, asking whether ethnic teacher aides actually are performing these tasks now. Three interviewees had nothing to say, apparently from a simple lack of knowledge of the situation. The others generally felt that the scheme was working satisfactorily, but that ethnic teacher aides frequently were used inefficiently (for example, merely as office aides/clerical staff doing things like photocopying). This usually could be traced to the schools' failure to define job prescriptions adequately and also the school's failure to accord respect to the ethnic teacher aide. The lack of respect relates back to one of the key points we were making in the discussion on the unionization of aides. Is it too blunt to say that teachers must treat their aides professionally if they themselves are to be accorded full professional status? If that is too harsh, at least there could be no disputing that ethnic teacher aides do need to be rescued from the currently all-too-frequent no-man's land between being assistant teachers (which they are not) and office staff (which they must not be). That can only begin to occur when there are job prescriptions and expectations which have been worked out by knowledgeable and experienced people and which are accepted beyond the confines of just one school.

Question 19 asked what actual or potential problems were seen by the respondents in the employment of ethnic teacher aides. The following answers were received:

-'Overlap between bilingual teachers and bilingual teacher aides'

-'Teacher aides often seen as dogs-bodies'

-'Not using their (aides') skills and potentials'

-'Unemployment of teachers'

-'Problems about industrial employment and possible problems in delineating roles of parent volunteers'

-'An administrative system needs to be evolved for teacher aides - not done yet'

-'Teachers need to be aware - to see the need'

It is difficult to see how the first would be a real problem, partly because aides are not supposed to teach (even though some definitely do) and partly because the implementation of a widespread program of bilingual teachers would lessen the load on both teacher and aide and reduce the confusion surrounding who is to do what in situations where resources are terribly thinly stretched. Ample bilingual resources would reduce the need to ask aides to do things which teachers and administrators know that strictly they should not be doing. The second problem stems directly from that attitude and relates back to the exploitative pay and conditions which we discussed at length earlier. This applies also to the third problem area mentioned. The fourth and fifth problems were discussed in the unionization section earlier in this Chapter. The sixth problem, that of establishing an administrative apparatus for aides, has been returned to a number of times by various associations, albeit not in the full-blown manner proposed here. For example, the 1977 VICSSO Annual Conference seems to have had this implictly in mind when it contended, 'that teaching aide positions be established with the State Education Department on the basis of needs determined by the Department after consultation with representatives of teacher and school council bodies on the basis of needs and their salaries be funded from State sources'. The motion does not refer specifically to ethnic teacher aides, of course. But it does stress implicitly the need for a much clearer and more formal designation and administration of (ethnic) teacher aides. One hesitates to see yet another bureaucracy established, but there is absolutely no reason why that should be necessary. The existing facilities, for example Ethnic Education within Special Services in the V.E.D. would be perfectly capable of supervising stricter and clearer task specifications and of facilitating communication across schools and between schools and the administration. Handling the industrial and legal side would be another matter, but would be within the capabilities of other sections within the V.E.D.

Examination of the list of possible or actual problems confirms our original hypothesis about what were likely to be the main areas of difficulty and also reinforces opinions expressed by interviewees from other walks of life. However, none of the respondents here really went beyond these problems to examine the possibility of a backlash against any moves towards positive discrimination or even moves towards spending more time and money on the needs of ethnic children. As said before, that will be an acid test of the genuineness of multicultural rhetoric.

The final cluster of questions, 20 to 22, dealt with any discussions that the associations may have had with the V.E.D., with each other, or with other relevant organizations. VICSSO had had no formal consultations with the V.E.D., nor with other bodies. The T.T.A.V. had not talked with the V.E.D. and had discussed the issue with other teacher unions only at a very general level. The T.T.A.V. and the Australian Greek Welfare had talked about the matter in a very broad and informal manner. Similarly, the V.A.M.E. had had informal talks with the Australian Greek Welfare Society

(A.G.W.S.), but with no other organization. The V.T.U. and the Muslim Teachers' Association (Victoria) had consulted nobody else yet, but declared that they would in the future. In reverse, the A.G.W.S. claimed to have spoken informally to the teacher unions, but not to the V.E.D. or to anybody else. The Victorian Federation of State School Parents' Clubs said that they had originally consulted with the Schools Commission in their initial submission on multicultural education and ethnic needs and later with the A.G.W.S., but not with any other ethnic organizations.

It is apparent from the above that there is no well-established network or set of group relations existing between the various associations themselves or between the associations and the V.E.D. The A.G.W.S., as befits its activist reputation, is the only ethnic organization figuring prominently. The Schools Commission, not surprisingly, appears to have been the only 'official' organization consulted consistently. At the State level, there have been only limited group relations and processes at work and a concomitant limited effort at the construction of public knowledge and definitions. Instead, the centre of activity has been at the Federal level, pivoting around the Schools Commission and a handful of key individuals in a position to influence events.

The heading of Question 22, 'Any other comments' elicited a range of answers which provides a splendid introduction to our 'Summary and Findings' part of this Chapter. Thus, it will provide the first part of the next (and concluding) section of this Chapter.

FINDINGS AND SUMMARY

As mentioned above, the introduction to this section commences with a resumé of the responses provided by ethnic, parent and community organizations and unions when asked for any final comments on ethnic teacher aides.

What did these associations have to say in summary under 'any other comments?' There were some general calls that all of these matters should allow 'equality with diversity', but these general remarks were not expanded upon. Indeed, they are the very stuff of multicultural rhetoric which is under scrutiny in the practical everyday situation of the ethnic teacher aides. Other remarks of this nature tended to focus on what else should be taking place in schools to complement the use of ethnic teacher aides; for example, the need for a comprehensive multicultural education policy, the need to clarify what we mean by multiculturalism and the realities for school and society of what would be involved in a whole-hearted effort at bilingual education and the fostering of ethnic studies and community languages. Referring specifically to ethnic teacher aides, there were assertions that ethnic teacher aides should be funded by the State through the V.E.D., instead of having to rely on the vagaries of funding through dictates to the Schools Commission; that the aides should be permanent and part of the staffing schedule of the schools (on a needs index of priority); that the V.E.D. must come through with a policy on ethnic teacher aides; that ethnic teacher aides should be qualified to the equivalent of H.S.C. in their home country; that employment of ethnic teacher aides should be seen in terms of immigrants' participation in the community; that schools need access to employ according to the need (which in real terms means more funding); that schools need to be more caring and supportive of bilingual teachers and ethnic teacher aides, and that every effort should be made with both aides and teachers to increase employment in the classroom.

This neatly summarises the main themes of concern about ethnic teacher aides that we discovered in our interviews. Politicians had rather different priorities, largely stressing financial concerns and the need to 'manage' and'contain' the 'ethnic problem'. In this they were echoed by the Federal bureaucrats, who were worried about being sucked into long-term financial commitment and the provision of yet another support service in schools. All of this fits with the present Federal Government mood of 'small government', financial restraint, self-help and the minimization of government-financed support schemes and a general feeling that schooling had failed to 'deliver the goods' in the 1970's. There is a genuine realization of the very real problems caused by the mass immigration into Australia since World War Two and there is an undoubted desire to help. On the other hand, much of that desire is surrounded by an unexamined and mystifying rhetoric of multiculturalism. The hard questions, let alone answers, have not yet been faced up to. Hence the importance of examining this issue as a microcosm of wider tensions.

The position outlined in the last paragraph must be contrasted with the more enlightened and expanded views put forward by the Schools Commission, the Commissioner for Community Relations and a few individuals in the area in New South Wales. We are not suggesting that these people provide a yardstick against which others should be measured. Some of their ideas doubtless are naive and grandiose and would desperately overload the daily routine of an ethnic teacher aide struggling to cope with classroom assistance, translating and interpreting, community and parental liaison work, social welfare work and cultural change. Enough said. Still, these people do seem to have more grasp of the problems and possibilities and more conviction that ethnic teacher aides should be used for community and cultural identity work and not just as ad hoc clerical dogsbodies.

Interviews with V.E.D. officials showed generally a concern to encourage multicultural education and support for the concept of ethnic teacher aides. Money was seen less as a problem, presumably because it was the Commonwealth that was expected to pay, and priorities tended instead towards using aides more efficiently in the schools and in formulating and co-ordinating a State policy on ethnic teacher aides. This too is exemplified best by recourse to systems/corporate management as the appropriate tool for analysis. But undoubtedly the overwhelming impression gained from the interviews at State level, both inside and outside of the V.E.D., was the air of confusion and ignorance blanketing the employment and use of ethnic teacher aides. The interviewees were anxious to learn from us what was happening and what actions would be most desirable. This may have given us the satisfaction of confirming our original hypothesis, but it provided only gloom and concern for us as we talked with the subjects of our research and the children, teachers and community groups concerned.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION: QUESTIONNAIRES

The multi-method approach to this study has introduced added complexities in reporting the results. In order to simplify the presentation, results from all the interviews were reported in detail in the previous chapter. Results from the questionnaires are described here but in the discussion, information derived from interview or observation will be introduced as needed to help to make sense of the results.

The major questions we sought to explore by the use of self-administered questionnaires for principals, teachers and ethnic teacher aides focussed on:

- The extent of employment of ethnic (bilingual) teacher aides.
- Attitude towards the presence of ethnic teacher aides.
- Involvement of school personnel in the employment of ethnic teacher aides.
- Union or other teacher association views on ethnic teacher aides as perceived by school personnel.
- Views on training of ethnic teacher aides as aides and as potential teachers.
- The benefit of ethnic teacher aides in schools.
- The continuing need for ethnic teacher aides.
- Views on employment of bilingual teachers VS bilingual teacher aides.
- Perceptions of the job of the ethnic teacher aides.
- Perceptions of problems experienced in the employment of ethnic teacher aides.

Results for groups of respondents -- principals, teachers, ethnic teacher aides are reported separately. Note that quantitative results for the small group of principals who were in schools without ethnic teacher aides are shown (whenever relevant) for interest only. Attitudes of these principals and some of the teachers in their schools are of more importance and appear in the next chapter.

PRINCIPALS

The Background Data questions comprised Part A of the Principal Questionnaire.

Of the 69 principals in schools with aides, 1 was from a Girls' high, 1 from a boys' high, 14 (20.3 percent) from co-ed high schools, 1 from a boys' technical school, 2 from co-ed technical schools, and 50 (72.5 percent) from primary schools.

There were fifty-five male principals (79.7 percent) and fourteen (20.3 percent) female principals.

The great majority of principals (89.9 percent) had been in the teaching profession for more than twenty years while 8.7 percent were in the experience bracket 16-20 years.

More than three-quarters of the principals (89.8 percent) had been in their present school between one and seven years, the majority of them (60.8 percent) three years or less.

In Part B, the questions sought information on:

- Year of appointment of ethnic/bilingual aide(s).
- How the aide was recruited.
- The principal's involvement in policy to employ ethnic/bilingual aides.

- Principals' Association position on aides.
- Funding of ethnic/bilingual aides.
- School control over ethnic/bilingual aides.
- Continuing need for such aides.
- Training of aides.
- Benefit from employment of ethnic/bilingual aides.
- Job description for ethnic aide.
- Success of aide in carrying out the job.
- Problems with ethnic aides.

Principals reported the year in which ethnic aides were appointed to their schools. Table 5.1 indicates that from a beginning in 1974, the appointment of aides in successive years expanded rapidly. However, 1979 saw only three schools in the sample appointing ethnic aides. Note that although aides must be re-appointed each year, the information given by the principals referred to new (not continuing) appointments.

The great majority of ethnic aides (86.9 percent) were recruited by advertisements in the press. These advertisements were prepared by the principal usually in consultation with members of the staff and/or School Council. The local press, ethnic press and large dailies such as The Age were used to varying degrees. (See Table 5.2)

The sample was fairly evenly divided between those principals who were involved in the initial policy or decision to employ ethnic aides in their school (44.9 percent) and those who were not (55.1 percent). No doubt much of the negative response came from principals who had not been long in their present schools. (See Table 5.3)

Table 5.1

Appointment of Ethnic Aides

N = 69

Year	%
1974	4.3
1975	21.7
1976	30.4
1977	18.8
1978	20.3
1979	4.3

Table 5.2

Recruitment of Ethnic Aides

N = 69

Method	%
Advertisement	86.9
Through Parents	4.3
Through Pupils	2.9
Other	5.7

Table 5.3

Policy/Decision to employ Ethnic Aides: Principal Influence

Response	Principals with aides %	Principals without aides %
Yes	44.9	28.5
No	55.1	71.4
	N = 69	N = 7

Table 5.4

Principals' Association and Ethnic Aides

Response	Discussion		Policy	
	Principals with aides %	Principals without aides %	Principals with aides %	Principals without aides %
Yes	21.7	-	4.3	14.2
No	39.1	42.8	50.7	42.8
Not sure	39.1	57.1	44.9	42.8
	N = 69	N = 7	N = 60	N = 7

Principals were asked if they knew of any discussion in their Association concerning ethnic aides and if an actual policy has been formulated. The majority of principals answered that to their knowledge the Principals' Association had not discussed the issue and did not have a policy on ethnic/bilingual aides or that they were not sure about either of these questions. (See Table 5.4) Approximately 20 percent of principals responded that to their knowledge the Association had discussed the issue of ethnic/bilingual aides but only 4 percent thought that the Association had a policy on it.

The majority of principals (73.9 percent) indicated that their ethnic/bilingual aide(s) was being funded by the Schools Commission (as was to be expected). However, 14.5 percent stated that the Education Department provided funds and a further 8.7 percent responded that the funding came from some source other than the Education Department, Schools Commission or the schools themselves. The response to the question of 'what control has the school over the conditions and term of the aide's employment' provided some interesting variation. Almost 70 percent of principals said that the school had 'some' control but 13 percent suggested that the schools had 'little' control. A further 13 percent did not answer the question or indicated that all the conditions 'little', 'some', 'none' applied. Clearly, where funds were provided from sources external to the school, schools were constrained in their use of such funds in various ways. (See Tables 5.5 and 5.6)

Principals were asked if they saw a continuing need for ethnic aides (a) in some Victorian schools and (b) in their own school. It can be seen from Table 5.7, that principals overwhelmingly supported the continuing need for this type of ancillary staff for schools

Table 5.5

Funding of Ethnic Aides

N = 69

	Percentage
Education Department	14.5
Schools Commission	73.9
School Funds	1.4
Other	8.7
No response	1.4

Table 5.6

Control of Ethnic Aides

N = 69

	Percentage
Little	4.3
Some	69.6
None	13.0
All	8.7
No response	4.3

Table 5.7

Need for Ethnic Aides

		Yes %	No %	Not Sure %	How long?		
					5 years %	10 years %	Indef. %
Victorian Schools	Principals with aides N = 69	97.1	1.4	1.4	11.6	14.5	68.1
	Principals without aides N = 7	71.4	14.2	14.2	-	-	-
Own School	Principals with aides N = 69	95.7	1.4	2.9	11.6	17.4	58.0

Table 5.8

Bilingual Teachers VS Bilingual Aides

Response	Replacement		Supplement	
	Principals with aides %	Principals without aides %	Principals with aides %	Principals without aides %
Yes	26.1	42.8	62.3	42.8
No	65.2	28.5	20.3	42.8
Not sure	8.7	28.5	17.4	14.2

generally and for their own school. There was also most support for continuing this additional staffing indefinitely, although twice as many principals (9 or 13.0 percent as compared to 4 or 5.8 percent) did not respond at all to the question of how long should ethnic aide employment be continued for their school and for other schools. This may be a reflection of uncertainty about the actual value of aides in the school, or it may be an uncertainty of funding which makes principals wary of actually stating time periods.

The next five questions sought information on whether principals thought that bilingual teachers would be a better solution to the situation of coping with ethnic diversity in a school, whether aides should receive training for the job, and whether it would be desirable for aides to be able to upgrade to become trained teachers. According to Table 5.8, the majority of principals (65.2 percent) did not want ethnic aides replaced by bilingual teachers, rather they (62.3 percent) wanted ethnic aides to be supplemented by more widespread use of bilingual teachers. There was more uncertainty of opinion over supplementation of aides with bilingual teachers than over replacement, that is, 17.4 percent responded 'not sure' to the former and only 8.7 percent to the latter.

With respect to training for aides, (See Table 5.9), principals answered both parts of the question although they could have chosen to answer only one if they felt strongly about training before or after. One can only assume that approximately half agreed with training before and/or after employment. Approximately 30 percent either did not have a strong opinion about the question of training or were not willing to express an opinion and therefore made no response to the question at all. Few principals thought there should be no training at all either before or after. Another explanation of the responses might be that principals are split on whether they see the job of the aide as a paraprofessional one, hence requiring training, or as a job anyone can do without training and, in fact, that specific training might in some ways be undesirable.

Approximately two-thirds of the principals indicated that they had ideas on appropriate training for aides. Another 30 plus percent indicated that they did not have any ideas on such training.

For example, some principals favoured an on-the-job 'module' training, others 'block release' in order to enable the aide to undertake courses at, say, a college of advanced education or at a Regional Office of the Education Department. Probably the most frequently mentioned mode of training was 'inservice courses' of brief duration. Very few principals mentioned training in translating and interpreting and yet the survey data revealed that most ethnic teacher aides were expected to carry out these tasks. Specific skills to be acquired ranged from typing to swimming competence, use of audio-visual equipment to child psychology, and duplicating to social welfare courses. One principal bluntly stated that training 'depends on the role to be performed which as yet has not been adequately defined'.

Principals were almost evenly divided (40.6 percent 'Yes' to 44.9 percent 'No') whether aides 'should be given the opportunity to train to move into teaching positions eventually', while a further 14.5 percent were 'not sure'. These divisions seem to suggest that many principals differentiate teacher work and aide work quite sharply and do not wish to even entertain the idea that the experience of 'aid-ing' might be a valid pre-requisite to formal studies for teacing. (See Table 5.

Table 5.9

Training for Ethnic Aides

Response	Before employment		After employment	
	Principals with aides %	Principals without aides %	Principals with aides %	Principals without aides %
Yes	50.7	71.4	53.6	57.1
No	13.0	28.5	8.7	14.2
Not sure	5.8	-	5.8	-
No response	30.4	-	31.9	-
	N = 69	N = 7	N = 69	N = 7

Table 5.10

Opportunity for Aide to train for Teaching

Response	Principals with aides %	Principals without aides %
Yes	40.6	42.8
No	44.9	14.2
Not sure	14.5	42.8
	N = 69	N = 7

Principals were asked to indicate generally if the children in their schools were benefitting from having an ethnic aide or aides. They were then asked to specify the ways by which aides could assist children. There was a 100 percent response from principals that children were helped by ethnic aides.

For example, many responses indicated that ethnic teacher aides were 'helpful to students at junior level', 'provided emotional security for students who spoke their ethnic language', 'helped develop students' language' and 'helped students to participate fully at school'. Much less support was given to the following: 'contact with parents/community', 'helping teacher preparation', 'extending cultural activities' and 'direct assistance to students'. Other comments included 'invaluable for parent interviews, parent evenings etc.', 'increased learning in students'. A very evocative comment was 'they are our mouths, eyes and ears -- lost without them'.

In a series of questions, principals were asked (1) to describe the job of the aide, (2) to indicate whether the job was being carried out in their school, (3) to express opinions on general problems experienced in the employment of aides and (4) indicate whether any of these problems were being experienced in their school. The responses to these questions are summarized in Tables 5.11, 5.12, 5.13 and 5.14.

Principals' responses concerning the job of the ethnic aide were categorized in the following way:

clerical e.g. filing
direct student assistance e.g. listening to students read
public relations e.g. home visits
planning e.g. organizing an excursion
other e.g. organizing school careers night
none of these e.g. running a craft club after school.

Table 5.11

Description of Job of Ethnic Aides

Job Description	Principals with aides %	Principals without aides %
Clerical	29.7	28.5
Direct student assistance	9.2	42.8
Public Relations	14.4	28.5
Planning	11.3	-
Other	33.3	-
None of these	2.1	-
	N = 69	N = 7

Table 5.12

Aide carrying out job in Principal's school

Response	%
Yes	87.0
No	1.4
Not sure	2.9
No response	8.6
	N = 69

It was found that responses clustered into one or other of the major categories, that is, for example, one job description was predominantly clerical. This description was the second most used category. The 'other' category, the most used category, was for answers which included at least two of 'clerical', 'direct student assistance', 'public relations' and 'planning'. In all of these cases, the category 'clerical' was used.

In response to the second question, the great majority of principals (87 percent) indicated that the aide was carrying out the aide job as they had described it in the previous question, in their school. It is interesting to note that approximately 8 percent of principals did not respond to this question. We can only speculate that principals in some schools had little to do with the aide and therefore simply did not know whether he/she was carrying out the job as described.

A number of statements concerning problems in the employment of ethnic aides were listed and principals were asked to indicate whether they 'agreed', 'disagreed', 'didn't know' or 'weren't sure'. Table 5.13 shows that generally speaking most principals disagreed with the statements and, hence, that they could result in problems in the employment of ethnic aides. Response rates above 80 percent were obtained for statements 1 (concerning funds), 4 (inefficiency of aides), 5 (parental objection), 6 (student objection), and 7 (ethnic aides inappropriate for Australian schools). There was a split response for statement 8 (aides are untrained): approximately 40 percent agreed and the same proportion disagreed. That is, some principals saw this situation as a possible problem, a similar number did not. Support for all categories of response was obtained for statement 2 (teachers without aides become resentful) and statement 3 (aides experience

Table 5.13

Problems with Employment of Ethnic Aides

PROBLEMS

	1	**	2		3		4		5		6		7		8	
Agree *	4.3	57.1	17.4	0.0	26.1	14.2	4.3	0.0	0.0	14.2	0.0	28.5	2.9	14.2	42.0	42.8
Disagree	84.1	28.5	68.1	85.7	58.0	71.4	81.2	71.4	95.7	85.7	95.7	71.4	91.3	71.4	43.5	28.5
Don't know or Not sure	11.6	14.2	14.5	14.2	15.9	14.2	14.5	28.5	4.3	0.0	4.3	0.0	5.8	14.2	14.5	28.5

*% in lefthand columns for principals with aides. N = 69.
**% in righthand columns for principals without aides. N = 7.

Key:
1. Funds better used elsewhere.
2. Teachers without aides become resentful.
3. Aides experience frustration in their jobs.
4. Aides are not efficient.
5. Parents object.
6. Students object.
7. Bilingual aides are not appropriate in Australian schools.
8. Aides are untrained.

frustration in their job). The distribution of response was to be found in the 'agree' and 'don't know' categories. One explanation might be that these are potential problems but many principals do not have the experience to back up their choice.

This final explanation might gain some support from the response pattern to the final question, which sought to tap the experience of the principals in their own schools. From Table 5.14, it can be seen that 20 percent of principals felt that one of the identified problems existed in their school, ten percent had two of the problems but the majority (47.8 percent) indicated that they did not have any of these problems. There was, however, a relatively high non-response rate. We can speculate that some of the non-response was related to the 'don't know' rate on the previous question.

Table 5.14

Problems in the Employment of Aides in Principals' own Schools

N = 69

Number of Problems	Percentage
One	20.3
Two	10.1
Three	1.4
Four or More	1.4
None	47.8
No response	18.8

Additional comments provided by principals included the following. For some principals, the fact that 'aides are untrained' was seen as a problem in that the burden of training fell on the school. For many others, however, this was not a problem but a bonus because they could 'shape' the aide's skills according to the particular needs of the school. The breadth of expectations held by teachers may lead aides to feel inadequate and hence, frustrated. Some schools envisaged cuts in funds in 1980 and therefore might be forced to use aide funds for other purposes. One specific comment referred to the aide's difficulty in seeing the boundaries between the job of an aide and that of a teacher.

In the remaining tables, some of the results for principals having ethnic teacher aides in their schools have been cross-tabulated against type of school. Thus, we can examine results for high, technical and priimary principals separately. Only general trends are commented on.

Principals from all the types of schools indicated the continuing need for ethnic aides in Victorian schools generally and in their schools in particular. This need was seen to continue for an indefinite period. (See Table 5.15)

Principals generally agreed that ethnic aides should be supplemented by rather than replaced with bilingual teachers. However, primary principals were more strongly in favour than either high school or technical school principals. (See Table 5.16)

Table 5.15

PRINCIPALS: SCHOOL TYPE BY CONTINUING NEED FOR ETHNIC AIDES

	YES %		NO %		FOR 5 YEARS %		FOR 10 YEARS %		INDEFINITE %	
SCHOOL TYPE	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
High	93.8	100.0	0.0	0.0	14.3	13.3	14.3	13.3	71.4	73.3
Technical	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	33.3	0.0	0.0	66.7	66.7
Primary	98.0	94.0	.0	2.0	10.4	11.9	16.7	23.8	72.9	64.3
	N = 69				N = 65					

(a) Victorian schools
(b) Own school

Table 5.16

PRINCIPALS: SCHOOL TYPE BY REPLACE/SUPPLEMENT ETHNIC AIDE WITH BILINGUAL TEACHER

	REPLACE %			SUPPLEMENT %		
SCHOOL TYPE	YES	NO	NOT SURE	YES	NO	NOT SURE
High	37.5	50.0	12.5	56.3	18.8	25.0
Technical	33.3	66.7	0.0	33.3	33.3	33.3
Primary	22.0	70.0	8.0	68.8	20.8	10.4
	N = 69			N = 67		

Table 5.17

PRINCIPALS: SCHOOL TYPE BY TRAINING FOR ETHNIC AIDES

	BEFORE EMPLOYMENT %		AFTER EMPLOYMENT %		IDEAS ON TYPE OF TRAINING %	
SCHOOL TYPE	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
High	50.0	0.0	62.5	6.3	75.0	25.0
Technical	66.7	0.0	33.3	0.0	33.3	66.7
Primary	50.0	18.0	52.0	10.0	76.7	23.3
	N = 69		N = 69		N = 62	

There was support amongst principals for training for ethnic aides both before and after employment. However, technical principals were the strongest in favour of training before and conversely least supportive of training after. Technical principals also, had the least ideas about appropriate training for ethnic aides and were the most divided over the question of whether ethnic aides should have the opportunity to move into teaching eventually. (See Tables 5.17 and 5.18)

Table 5.18

PRINCIPALS: SCHOOL TYPE BY OPPORTUNITY FOR ETHNIC AIDES TO BECOME TEACHERS

SCHOOL TYPE	YES %	NO %	NOT SURE %
High	43.8	37.5	18.8
Technical	33.3	33.3	33.3
Primary	40.0	48.0	12.0
		N = 69	

TEACHERS

The Background Data questions comprised Part A of the Teacher Questionnaire.

Of the 130 teachers in the sample, almost two-thirds (65.4 percent) taught in primary schools and 26.1 percent in high schools. The remainder were found in technical schools (8.5 percent). (See Table 5.19)

The majority of the teachers (67.7 percent) were female and more than half of all the teachers were aged 20-35 years. A further 23.8 percent fell in the 36-45 years age bracket. (See Tables 5.20 and 5.21)

Table 5.19

TEACHERS: SCHOOL TYPE

	%
Girls' High	2.3
Boys' High	1.5
Co-ed High	22.3
Boys' Tech	2.3
Co-ed Tech	6.2
Primary	65.4

N = 130

Table 5.20

TEACHERS: SEX

	%
Male	32.3
Female	67.7

N = 130

Table 5.21

TEACHERS: AGE

CATEGORY	%
20-25	15.4
26-35	43.8
36-45	23.8
Over 45	16.2
No response	0.8

N = 130

The bulk of these teachers (56.2 percent) held assistant positions while 26.2 percent were assistants with responsibility. A not inconsiderable percentage (15.4) held the position of vice-principal. Accordingly, half the sample had been teaching up to 10 years, almost equally divided between the periods less than 5 years and 5-10 years. More than one third (36.9 percent) had lengthier experience 11-20 years and a further 13.1 percent had long teaching careers in excess of 20 years. (See Tables 5.22 and 5.23)

Table 5.22

TEACHERS: POSITION IN SCHOOL

POSITION	%
Assistant	56.2
Assistant with responsibility	26.2
Senior Teacher	2.3
Vice-Principal	15.4
N = 130	

Table 5.23

TEACHERS: LENGTH OF TIME IN TEACHING

TIME PERIOD	%
Less than 5 years	24.6
5-10 years	25.4
11-20 years	36.9
More than 20 years	13.1
N = 130	

More than one third of the teachers were graduates and another 50.8 percent held diplomas or certificates. The remainder (10 percent) had some other type of qualification. In terms of the distribution of the sample amongst primary and post-primary schools, it seems likely that some primary teachers were of graduate status. (See Table 5.24)

Only a minority of teachers (11.5 percent) did not belong to one of the teacher unions. As could have been predicted, the bulk of the teachers (63.1 percent) belonged to the Victorian Teachers' Union, which caters predominantly for teachers in the primary service. Union membership was higher proportionately for primary and high school teachers than for technical teachers; more than 95 percent and 75 percent for the unions catering largely for primary and high school teachers respectively, and approximately 54 percent for the union catering for technical teachers. (See Table 5.25)

In the sample, almost two thirds were monolingual English speakers while the other third were bi- or multi-linguals. More than 80 percent of the teachers were Australian born or born in other English-speaking countries. The remainder, less than 20 percent, were born in countries where the dominant language is other than English. Hence, a proportion of our sample must have come from families in which parents were speakers of other languages or had acquired languages other than English through formal education. (See Tables 5.26 and 5.27)

Table 5.24

TEACHERS: QUALIFICATIONS

QUALIFICATION	%
Degree only	0.8
Degree + Diploma	30.0
Diploma only	23.1
Certificate only	27.7
Degree + Certificate	8.5
Other	10.0

Table 5.25

TEACHERS: UNION MEMBERSHIP

UNION	%
V.T.U.	63.1
V.S.T.A.	20.0
T.T.A.V.	4.6
Other	0.8
None	11.5
N = 130	

Table 5.26

TEACHERS: LANGUAGES SPOKEN

NUMBER	%
One	63.9
Two	23.8
Three	8.5
More than three	3.8
N = 130	

Table 5.27

TEACHERS: COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

COUNTRY	%
Australia	75.4
Eastern Europe	3.8
Western Europe	6.9
British Isles	6.2
North America	0.8
Asia	1.5
Africa	2.3
Pacific incl. N.Z.	3.1
N = 130	

The second part of the questionnaire related directly to the ethnic aide issue. The questions sought information on:

- teacher contact with ethnic aides.
- interest in working with an ethnic aide.
- any involvement in decision and policy making over ethnic aide employment.
- knowledge of union concern/policy over ethnic aides.
- attitudes towards training for aides, allowing aides to become teachers, the value of such aides and the continuing need for aides, use of bilingual teachers to replace or supplement ethnic aides.
- perceptions of the job of the ethnic aide and problems in the employment of ethnic aides.

Table 5.28, indicates that the majority of teachers in this sample had either worked with an ethnic aide at some time (76.2 percent), were working with one at present (66.9 percent), or had an ethnic aide at their present school (91.5 percent). About two thirds of teachers (68.3 percent) would like to work with an ethnic aide, but a smaller proportion (49.2 percent) would like to have an ethnic aide at their present school. (See Table 5.29)

Table 5.30 indicates that very few teachers (4.6 percent), had been involved in policy-making for ethnic aides in Victorian schools generally, but the percentage increased to 36.2 for their own schools. Few teachers had any knowledge that their union had discussed ethnic aides (20.8 percent) or had a policy on the employment of ethnic aides (11.5 percent). The largest category of response for these questions was the 'not sure' category, in excess of 60 percent on both questions. Clearly, if unions had shown an interest in the ethnic aide question, it has not been made known to the membership. (See Table 5.31)

Table 5.28

TEACHERS: CLOSE CONTACT WITH ETHNIC AIDE

	WORKED WITH ETHNIC AIDE %	WORKING WITH ETHNIC AIDE %	ETHNIC AIDE AT PRESENT SCHOOL %
YES	76.2	66.9	91.5
NO	23.9	33.1	8.5
		N = 130	

Table 5.29

TEACHERS: INTEREST IN CONTACT WITH ETHNIC AIDE

	LIKE TO WORK WITH ETHNIC AIDE %	LIKE TO HAVE ETHNIC AIDE AT PRESENT SCHOOL %
YES	68.5	49.2
NO	2.3	3.8
N/A	24.6	35.4
No response	4.6	11.6
	N = 130	

Table 5.30

TEACHERS: INVOLVEMENT IN POLICY OVER ETHNIC AIDE

	VICTORIAN SCHOOLS %	OWN SCHOOL %
YES	4.6	36.2
NO	95.4	63.8
	N = 130	

Table 5.31

TEACHERS: KNOWLEDGE OF UNION INTEREST IN ETHNIC AIDES

	UNION DISCUSSION %	UNION POLICY %
YES	20.8	11.5
NO	14.6	10.8
Not sure	63.1	73.8
No response	1.5	3.8
	N = 130	

Table 5.32

TEACHERS: TRAINING FOR ETHNIC AIDE

	BEFORE EMPLOYMENT %	AFTER EMPLOYMENT %	IDEAS ON TYPE OF TRAINING %
YES	53.1	51.5	79.2
NO	5.4	5.4	17.7
Not sure	10.0	7.7	-
No response	31.5	35.4	3.1
		N = 130	

Table 5.33

TEACHERS: OPPORTUNITY FOR ETHNIC AIDES TO BECOME TEACHERS

	%
YES	54.6
NO	25.4
Not sure	20.0
N = 130	

More than half of the teachers supported training for ethnic aides before employment (53.1 percent) and after employment (51.5 percent). Negative responses were low, hence a greater than 40 percent response was given in the combined 'Not Sure'/'No Response' category. In spite of this trend, a large proportion of teachers did have ideas on what the training should constitute. (See Table 5.32)

The most favoured suggestions for ethnic aide training were 'short preliminary course', 'regular meetings with staff', 'inservice courses', '12 months apprenticeship course at a college with day-time release', and 'language courses'. Other suggestions were 'child studies course', 'typing/office skills course', 'library course', and 'constructing materials course'. One teacher stated quite firmly that a better plan would be to have 'time off for teachers to do additional courses'.

From Table 5.33 it can be seen that more than half the teachers (54.6 percent) thought that aides should be given the opportunity to train to move into teaching positions eventually. However, 25.4 percent clearly indicated that no such opportunity should be given and a further 20.0 percent were not sure of their position on this question. However, as Table 5.34 indicates, the great majority of teachers (85.4 percent) felt that children would benefit from the employment of a bilingual aide.

Table 5.34

TEACHERS: VALUE OF ETHNIC AIDES

	%
YES	85.4
NO	3.8
Not applicable	10.8

N = 130

It was interesting to note that teachers were not unanimous on the value of ethnic teacher aides as principals had been. Unanimity was not achieved because of a small negative response and because of an approximate 10 percent 'not applicable' response. The latter, one assumes, would arise from lack of familiarity with the work of ethnic teacher aides. The positive responses tended to be very similar to the answers provided by principals. In a way, the negative responses are of even more interest. Suggestions included: 'there are plenty of unemployed teachers', 'bilingual teachers would be better -- they are trained teachers', and 'I wouldn't want anyone breathing down my neck all the time'.

There was strong agreement (> 90 percent) that the need for ethnic aides was a continuing one and the majority felt that the need was an indefinite one (> 75 percent) for some Victorian schools and for the specific schools in the sample. (See Table 5.35) The majority of these teachers did not favour replacement of ethnic aides by bilingual teachers (61.5 percent), rather they considered that bilingual teachers could supplement ethnic aides (63.1 percent). There was, however, some degree of uncertainty on both of these questions (> 16 percent). (See Table 5.36)

Teacher perceptions of the job of the bilingual or ethnic aide were classified into the categories shown in Table 5.37. It is interesting to note the degree of support for activities other than those specified as clerical, direct student assistance, public relations and planning. Examples of the tasks included in the other category were: 'to help preserve the native language and where possible in maintaining culture', 'acting as an ethnic consultant to educate teachers', 'as a resource person for the community and the

Table 5.35

TEACHERS: CONTINUING NEED FOR ETHNIC AIDES

	YES %	NO %	FOR 5 YEARS %	FOR 10 YEARS %	INDEFINITELY %
Victorian schools	94.6	1.5	5.4	2.3	80.0
Own school	91.5	5.4	4.6	3.8	76.2
			N = 130		

Table 5.36

TEACHERS: REPLACE/SUPPLEMENT ETHNIC AIDE WITH BILINGUAL TEACHER

	REPLACE %	SUPPLEMENT %
YES	22.3	63.1
NO	61.5	18.5
Not sure	16.2	18.5
	N = 130	

Table 5.37

TEACHERS: BILINGUAL AIDE JOB

TASKS	%
Clerical	10.3
Direct student assistance	17.3
Public relations	12.7
Planning	1.1
Other	40.0
None of these	1.9
No response	16.5

N = 130

school', 'as a second arm or tongue for the teacher', 'to provide motivation rather than imparting knowledge', 'to act as a parent figure', 'to break down language and cultural barriers', and 'to help diagnose behaviour and/or learning problems'.

It is also interesting to note a non-response rate of 16.5 percent. One would imagine that this result could come at least partly from those teachers who had not had any contact with ethnic aides previously. Of those who answered the next question, which asked whether the ethnic aide in their school was doing the job as outlined in the previous question, the majority opinion (73.8 percent) was that this was so. (See Table 5.38).

Table 5.38

TEACHERS: OWN ETHNIC AIDE JOB AS ABOVE

	%
YES	73.8
NO	8.5
Not applicable	17.7
N = 130	

A number of statements were listed in the latter part of the questionnaire which might explain problems experienced in the employment of bilingual aides. These were:

1. Funds better used elsewhere.
2. Teachers without aides become resentful.
3. Aides themselves experience frustration in their jobs.
4. Aides are not efficient.
5. Parents object to aides.

6. Students object to aides.
7. Bilingual aides are not appropriate in Australian schools.
8. Aides are untrained.

Teachers were asked to agree or disagree with these statements. The results are shown in Table 5.39. The numbers in the top row of the table refer to the statements listed above.

Substantial agreement was found only on statement 3 ('aides experience frustration') and statement 8 ('aides are untrained'). Conversely, disagreement was high on all other statements (the range being from 67.7 percent to 95.4 percent). Some uncertainty was shown for statements 3 (18.4 percent), 9 (13.1 percent), and for statement 2 (15.4 percent, 'teachers without aides become resentful'). Discounting 'non-response' or 'not applicable' responses, teachers indicated that some of these problems were to be found in their own school (32.3 percent). About one fifth (20.6 percent) could say that none of these problems were to be found in their school. (See Table 5.40)

Table 5.39

TEACHERS: PROBLEMS WITH EMPLOYMENT OF ETHNIC AIDES

	PROBLEMS %							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Agree	7.7	16.9	38.5	5.4	1.5	1.5	2.3	52.3
Disagree	86.2	67.7	43.1	83.8	95.4	94.6	93.8	34.6
Don't know or No response	6.2	15.4	18.4	10.7	3.1	3.9	3.9	13.1
	N = 130							

Table 5.40

TEACHERS: THESE PROBLEMS IN OWN SCHOOL

	%
YES	32.3
NO	20.8
Not applicable	26.2
No response	20.8
N = 130	

In the remaining tables, some of the results for teachers have been cross-tabulated against type of school. Thus, we can examine results for high, technical and primary teachers separately. Only general trends are commented upon.

Table 5.41 indicates that a much greater proportion of primary teachers and high school teachers than technical teachers had had close contact with ethnic aides as reflected in responses to three questions. With respect to Table 5.42, fewer technical teachers responded that they would like to work with an ethnic aide and would like to have an ethnic aide in their present school. The relatively high 'not sure' rate is an interesting feature of the two questions upon which the table is based. Obviously, there is quite a residue (over and above those who considered that these questions were not applicable to them) of uncertainty amongst teachers concerning the ethnic aide issue; it would be useful to have a better understanding of the reasons for this uncertainty.

Table 5.41

TEACHERS: SCHOOL TYPE BY CLOSE CONTACT WITH ETHNIC AIDE

	WORKED WITH ETHNIC AIDE %		WORKING WITH ETHNIC AIDE %		ETHNIC AIDE AT PRESENT SCHOOL %	
SCHOOL TYPE	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
High	61.8	38.2	55.9	44.1	91.2	8.8
Technical	18.2	81.8	18.2	81.8	45.5	54.5
Primary	89.4	9.4	81.5	18.5	96.5	3.5
	N = 130		N = 126		N = 130	

Table 5.42

TEACHERS: SCHOOL TYPE BY INTEREST IN CONTACT WITH ETHNIC AIDE

	LIKE TO WORK WITH ETHNIC AIDE %		LIKE TO HAVE ETHNIC AIDE IN PRESENT SCHOOL %	
	YES	NO	YES	NO
High	73.5	0.0	55.9	0.0
Technical	45.5	27.3	45.5	27.3
Primary	70.2	0.0	47.6	2.4
	N = 92*		N = 69*	

* The majority of other respondents indicated that they were 'not sure' on these questions.

As might have been predicted, some primary and high school teachers had been involved as individuals or as members of organizations with developing policy on ethnic teacher aides both for Victorian schools generally and for their own schools. Technical teachers had much less involvement. (See Table 5.43) Table 5.44 reveals that any knowledge of union interest in, or policy over, ethnic aides was shared amongst primary and high school teachers and not technical teachers.

As something of a contrast, Table 5.45 indicates that technical teachers were generally positively disposed to training for aides and had ideas on what sort of training aides should have. The overall trend though might be termed 'conservative' with respect to training of ethnic aides. Such a response indicates support for a definition of an aide as relatively untrained in comparison with teachers. Again, perhaps surprisingly, it was the technical teachers who were strongest in favour of opportunity for ethnic aides to become teachers and primary teachers were the least in favour. High school teachers might be seen as ambivalent. (See Table 5.46)

In order of support, primary, then high and thirdly technical teachers, gave a positive response to the idea of the benefit to be gained from the employment of ethnic aides. Technical teachers were, by far, the 'least sure' on this question (54.5 percent). These trends can be seen in Table 5.47. A similar order can be found in Table 5.48, which summarizes responses to the question on the continuing need for ethnic aides. The response was positive and considered to be long term. Technical teachers more strongly favoured the replacement of ethnic aides by bilingual teachers; primary and high school teachers were equal in their support of supplementation of ethnic aides by bilingual teachers. (See Table 5.49) In each type of task suggested as comprising the ethnic aide's job (See Table 5.50), the contribution of technical teachers' responses was less than that of high school teachers and considerably less than that of primary teachers. High school teacher responses exceeded those of primary teachers in only two categories, those of 'planning' and 'none of these

Table 5.43

TEACHERS: SCHOOL TYPE BY INVOLVEMENT IN POLICY OVER ETHNIC AIDE

	VICTORIAN SCHOOLS %		OWN SCHOOL %	
SCHOOL TYPE	YES	NO	YES	NO
High	3.2	96.8	21.2	78.8
Technical	0.0	100.0	9.9	90.9
Primary	8.2	91.8	48.1	51.9
	N = 106		N = 125	

Table 5.44

TEACHERS: SCHOOL TYPE BY KNOWLEDGE OF UNION INTEREST IN ETHNIC AIDES

	UNION DISCUSSION %			UNION POLICY %		
SCHOOL TYPE	YES	NO	NOT SURE	YES	NO	NOT SURE
High	20.6	14.7	61.8	14.7	5.9	70.6
Technical	0.0	27.3	72.7	0.0	0.0	100.0
Primary	23.5	12.9	62.4	11.8	14.1	71.8
	N = 128			N = 125		

Table 5.45

TEACHERS: SCHOOL TYPE BY TRAINING FOR ETHNIC AIDES

	BEFORE EMPLOYMENT %		AFTER EMPLOYMENT %		IDEAS ON TYPE OF TRAINING %	
SCHOOL TYPE	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
High	58.8	5.9	50.0	5.9	67.6	32.4
Technical	63.6	0.0	45.5	27.3	63.6	36.4
Primary	49.4	5.9	52.9	2.4	90.1	9.9
	N = 76		N = 74		N = 126	

Table 5.46

TEACHERS: SCHOOL TYPE BY OPPORTUNITY FOR ETHNIC AIDES TO BECOME TEACHERS

SCHOOL TYPE	YES %	NO %	NOT SURE %
High	64.7	11.8	23.5
Technical	90.9	0.0	9.1
Primary	47.0	34.9	18.1
		N = 130	

Table 5.47

TEACHERS: TYPE OF SCHOOL BY VALUE OF ETHNIC AIDES

SCHOOL TYPE	YES %	NO %	NOT SURE %
High	78.3	6.1	15.2
Technical	45.5	0.0	54.5
Primary	94.1	3.5	2.4
		N = 126	

Table 5.48

TEACHERS: SCHOOL TYPE BY CONTINUING NEED FOR ETHNIC AIDES

	YES %		NO %		FOR 5 YEARS %		FOR 10 YEARS %		INDEFINITEL %	
SCHOOL TYPE	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
High	100.0	97.1	0.0	0.0	3.1	2.9	6.3	8.8	84.4	79.4
Technical	90.0	63.3	10.0	36.4	10.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	80.0	85.7
Primary	97.6	95.2	1.2	3.6	5.9	5.9	1.2	2.4	81.2	77.6

(a) Victorian schools
(b) Own school
N = 126

Table 5.49

TEACHERS: SCHOOL TYPE BY REPLACE/SUPPLEMENT ETHNIC AIDE WITH BILINGUAL TEACHER

	REPLACE %			SUPPLEMENT %		
	YES	NO	NOT SURE	YES	NO	NOT SURE
High	14.7	70.6	14.7	64.7	17.6	17.6
Technical	45.5	18.2	36.4	45.5	27.3	27.3
Primary	22.6	64.3	13.1	64.7	17.6	17.6
		N = 129			N = 130	

Table 5.50

TEACHERS: SCHOOL TYPE BY BILINGUAL AIDE JOB

	TASKS %					
SCHOOL TYPE	CLERICAL	DIRECT STUDENT ASSISTANCE	PUBLIC RELATIONS	PLANNING	OTHER	NONE OF THESE
High	18.5	24.4	33.3	66.6	24.0	100.0
Technical	7.4	13.3	18.1	0.0	5.7	0.0
Primary	74.7	84.8	48.4	33.3	70.1	0.0
			N = 128			

ETHNIC TEACHER AIDES

Tables 5.51, 5.52 and 5.53 indicate sex, marital status and age of aides.

One hundred and eighteen ethnic teacher aides completed the aide questionnaire. The sample consisted of 87.3 percent females and 12.7 percent males. Three-quarters of the aides were married (75.4 percent), ten percent had been married (10.2 percent) and fourteen percent were single (14.4 percent). The majority of aides were between the ages of 25 and 44 (57.9 percent), about one-fifth of the aides being between 20-24 years of age (21.9 percent). Small numbers appeared in the upper age bracket (2.4 percent in 55-60 years) and the lowest age bracket (1.7 percent in 15-19 years), with 6.7 percent in the 45-49 age group.

Country of birth, length of time in Australia if overseas born and languages (other than English) spoken by ethnic aides are shown in Tables 5.54, 5.55 and 5.56. Approximately a quarter of aides were born in Australia but only 8.5 percent spoke only English. Of the 73.7 percent not born in Australia, the great majority were born in non-English speaking countries. The larger percentages coming in order from Greece, Italy, Cyprus, Egypt and Eastern Europe. It is interesting to note that the percentages for Asia and Turkey come next, ahead of Western Europe, British Isles, Lebanon and South America. Of the overseas born, a slightly larger percentage (29.7 percent) had lived in Australia a relatively short time (1-10 years) compared with a relatively longer time (11 years and more). In fact, equal numbers were found in the middle range 11-19 years (21.2 percent) and the extended time, more than 20 years (21.2 percent). As was to be expected Greek was the language most frequently spoken, followed by Italian, Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian and Turkish.

Table 5.51

Ethnic Aides
Sex

	%
Male	12.7
Female	87.3
N = 118	

Table 5.52

Ethnic Aides
Marital Status

	%
Married	75.4
Not married now	10.2
Never married	14.4
N = 118	

Table 5.53

Ethnic Aides
Age

	%
55-60	2.4
50-54	-
45-49	6.7
40-44	12.7
35-39	10.1
30-34	17.3
25-29	17.8
20-24	21.9
15-19	1.7
N = 117	

Table 5.54

Ethnic Aides
Country of Birth

	%
Australia	26.3
East Europe	5.9
West Europe	1.7
British Isles	1.7
Turkey	3.4
Asia	3.4
Greece	23.7
Italy	11.0
North Europe	-
Cyprus	9.3
Egypt	6.8
Lebanon	2.5
Sth. Amercia	2.5
Other	1.7
N = 118	

Table 5.55

Ethnic Aides
Overseas born: length of time in Australia

	%	
1-5 years	16.1	29.7
6-10 years	13.6	
11-15 years	12.7	21.2
16-20 years	8.5	
More than 20 years	21.2	
N = 87		

Other languages spoken included: French, Arabic, Maltese, Hungarian, Armenian, Spanish, Chinese, Vietnamese, Albanian, Bulgarian, German, Japanese, Dutch.

Table 5.56

Ethnic Aides
Languages other than English Spoken

	%*
Nil (i.e. spoke only English)	8.5
Greek	42.3
Macedonian	9.3
Serbo-Croat	10.0
Italian	27.1
German	0.8
French	5.9
Hungarian	0.8
Asian	2.5
Maltese	1.7
Turkish	7.6
Other	8.5

* Percentage > 100 because some ethnic aides are multilingual rather than bilingual.

N = 118

It can be seen from Table 5.57 that the majority of aides lived in the Northern, Western and inner city suburbs (81.3 percent). Residence in the Eastern and Southern suburbs was low (15.0 percent), but was minimal in the rural fringe suburbs (0.8 percent). According to Table 5.58, two thirds of the aides indicated that they lived near the schools in which they worked (near being defined as about 3 miles

Table 5.57

Ethnic Aides
Residential Location

	%
Northern Suburbs e.g. Thomastown	46.6
Southern Suburbs e.g. Mentone	5.9
Eastern Suburbs e.g. Glen Waverley	9.3
Western Suburbs e.g. Sunshine	18.6
Inner city Suburbs e.g. Richmond	16.1
Rural Fringe e.g. Eltham	0.8
N = 115	

Table 5.58

Ethnic Aides
Live Near School

	%
Yes	66.1
No	33.9
N = 118	

Table 5.59

Ethnic Aides
Employment by Type of School

	%
Girls' High	2.5
Boys' High	0.8
Co-ed High	19.5
Co-ed Tech	3.4
Primary	71.2
Education Centre	2.5
N = 118	

or less); hence most of the aides were in schools located in the Northern, Western and inner city suburbs. From Table 5.59, we can see that the great majority of aides were working in primary schools (71.2 percent), with approximately one quarter (26.2 percent) located in the post-primary sector. Most of the aides had been working one or more years as aides (78 percent) as can be seen in Table 5.60, while about sixteen percent had been appointed only in 1979, the year in which the survey was conducted.

Table 5.61 presents information gathered on aides' membership of community groups of various kinds. The majority of aides (62.7 percent) did not list any groups. Groups mentioned frequently were ethnic, educational, parent and leisure (in decreasing order). The category 'other' included: 'Telephone Interpreter Service' and 'Church group'. It is interesting that only 8.5 percent indicated that they held union membership.

From Table 5.62, we can gain some idea of the aides' previous job history over a ten-year period. About 80 percent (79.5 percent) of aides said that they had held at least one job previously. This figure rises to 84.6 percent if we include home duties (note that the question did not define a job as 'paid work outside the home'). Of those with previous jobs, 50 percent were identified in the group 'semi-skilled', 'professional' and 'related to education' (e.g. playground leader) while approximately 20 percent came into the unskilled category. It is interesting to examine Table 5.63 on highest educational level at this point. The majority of aides (62.8 percent) had completed secondary school or better, with a perhaps surprisingly high figure of 13.6 percent for university level (although this does not necessarily mean that university education was completed). Only 4.2 percent had

Table 5.60

Ethnic Aides
Date of Appointment

Year	%
1974	1.7
1975	16.1
1976	21.2
1977	16.1
1978	22.9
1979	16.1

N = 111

Table 5.61

Ethnic Aides
Membership of Community Groups

Type of Group	%**
Ethnic	24.6
Parent	12.6
Red Cross/other service	4.2
Church	9.2
Union	8.5
Leisure	11.0
Educational	19.4
Other	9.3
*	62.7

N = 118

* = none listed.

** > 100 because of multiple memberships.

primary level education and 33.1 percent some secondary education. Because of the sex bias in the sample, it would seem that many of the female aides had under-utilized their educational qualifications previously.

Table 5.62

Ethnic Aides
Previous Job History

	%
Home duties	5.1
Unskilled e.g.	20.3
Semi-skilled	36.4
Professional	0.8
Related to Education	17.8
No previous job	15.3
Other	4.2
N = 118	

Table 5.63

Ethnic Aides
Highest Educational Level

	%
Some primary	0.8
Completed primary	3.4
Some secondary	33.1
Completed secondary	33.1
Post-secondary	16.1
University	13.6
N = 118	

Aides were asked how they had heard about the ethnic aide job. From Table 5.64, we can see that advertisement (61.0 percent) was the most common means, followed by word of mouth (11.0 percent) and teachers (10.2 percent). The respondents indicated, as seen in Table 5.65, that approximately one third of them took the aide job for a combination of reasons, 'more money', 'personal reasons' and 'helping others'. Of those who indicated one major reason, the most common was 'helping others'. Other reasons advanced included: 'like being involved with kids', 'as an interest/something constructive', 'the job suited my skills', 'enabled me to help the community'. These were the most frequently mentioned reasons. Other interesting ideas were: 'to have something to talk to my husband about', 'to improve my English', 'because of shorter hours', 'in order to become a full-time teacher' and 'because my children are at the school'. Quite a contrast can be found between the most succinct comment ('needed a job') and the most lengthy one ('to be part of the most important mission: the development of tomorrow's society').

Aides were asked whether they regarded the job as an ethnic aide in terms of a career or as a short-term job; 39.0 percent said that they saw it as a career compared with about 25 percent who said it was short-term. (See Table 5.66) However, the large figure of 36.4 percent who state 'not sure' is interesting. The impression gained in conversing with aides was that the position itself was so uncertain (e.g. due to funding) that they simply 'lived from day to day', although most aides expressed the desire to stay in their jobs. Approximately a third of the aides (37.3 percent) expressed an interest in taking up teaching as a career, although more than half of them (53.4 percent) said that they would not want to go into teaching. (See Table 5.67) Only 9 percent approximately were 'not sure' about this question.

Table 5.64

Ethnic Aides
How Heard About Job

	%
Advertisement	61.0
Community Group	5.9
Teacher	10.2
Word of mouth	11.0
Via Children	2.5
Other	9.3
N = 118	

Table 5.65

Ethnic Aides
Why Take Job

	%
More money	3.4
Personal reasons	16.1
Helping others	29.7
All of the above	35.6
Other	15.2
N = 118	

Table 5.66

Ethnic Aides
Job: Career or Short-term

	%
Career	39.0
Short-term	24.6
Not sure	36.4
N = 118	

Table 5.67

Ethnic Aides
Move into Teaching

	%
Yes	37.3
No	53.4
Not sure	9.3
N=118	

A large percentage of aides (89.0 percent) did not respond at all to the question which asked what their expectations of the ethnic aide job were prior to entering it. Positive responses placed emphasis on helping students and parents particularly. These responses are to be found in Table 5.68. 'Other' responses included: 'translating and interpreting', 'I thought I could be an asset to the school because of my experience', 'being a first generation Australian, I know the troubles and problems facing parents and students of similar background', and 'to get a teaching position to help the refugees'.

In spite of the large number of non-responses on expectations, Table 5.69 shows that about two-thirds of the sample were 'very satisfied' with the job so far and another 34.7 percent were 'fairly satisfied'. Those 'not satisfied' were minimal (1.7 percent).

Table 5.70 indicates responses to questions which asked whether aides had had training for the aide job before and/or after gaining employment and also if they would like training. Only a few aides had had training in the aide job prior to employment (11.0 percent) but approximately equal numbers of aides received or did not receive teaching after employment (50.8 percent 'yes' to 49.2 percent 'no'). Training could either be 'on the job' or actual short in-service courses. At the stage they were surveyed, that is, having been employed as aides, most of them (63.6 percent) indicated that they would like training, but 32.3 percent did not consider that it was necessary.

The second major section of the questionnaire aimed to find out aides' perceptions of their actual job in schools.

Table 5.68

Ethnic Aides Expectations about Job

	%*
Helping teachers	10.1
Helping students	33.9
Helping parents	21.1
School-community relations	8.5
Other	32.2
No response	89.0

N = 118

*>100 because some respondents identified more than one expectation.

Table 5.69

Ethnic Aides Expectations Fulfilled

	%
Very satisfied	63.6
Fairly satisfied	34.7
Not satisfied	1.7

N = 118

Table 5.70

Ethnic Aides Training for Job

	Before Employment %	After Employment %	Would like Training %
Yes	11.0	50.8	63.6
No	89.0	49.2	32.2
Not Sure	-		4.2

N = 118

In Question 23, aides were supplied with a lengthy list of tasks which an aide might do. They were asked to indicate for each task whether these tasks were performed often, sometimes or never. The tasks were grouped under areas which were labelled as clerical work, direct student assistance, public relations and planning. Provision was made also for an open-ended response by including a heading 'Any Other Activities' and leaving space for aides to write in any additional tasks.

Clerical Work: Table 5.71

To Items 1 and 13, two-thirds of aides responded that they 'often' carried out these tasks. These items referred to 'duplicate materials for teachers' and 'prepare notices to go home in ethnic languages for teachers'. Most of the other items in this set drew a less than 50 percent response. At the other end of the scale, items 5, 9 and 10 drew a greater than 50 percent response that they were 'never' carried out. These items respectively referred to 'operate audio-visual equipment', 'correct tests' and 'keep attendance records'. The 'sometimes' category had the smallest response range from a low of 13.6 percent (item 10) to a high of 48.3 percent (item 14:'supervise class for a few minutes').

In summary:

- all of the tasks identified were undertaken by some aides either 'often' or 'sometimes'.
- The most frequently carried out tasks concerned 'duplication of materials for teachers', 'distribution, collection and filing of materials', 'typing and duplication of materials for the school office',

'preparation of class materials in ethnic languages for teachers' and 'preparation of notices to go home in ethnic languages'.

- The least frequently carried out tasks concerned 'operating audio-visual equipment', 'setting up equipment (other than AV)', 'correcting tests', 'keeping attendance records' and 'collecting money'.
- No response rate on items ranged from 2.5 to 10.2 percent. One can only assume that aides accidentally missed checking an item, didn't see the item's relevance or did not understand what was meant by an item.

Direct Student Assistance: Table 5.72

The most 'often' carried out task in this set was item 23 (49.2 percent) and the least 'often' item was number 19. Item 23 referred to 'duplication of materials for students' and item 19 to 'taking students on camps'. Correspondingly this item registered the highest 'never' response (78 percent). The other highest 'never' response was for item 20 (46.6 percent) which referred to 'playground supervision'. Seven of the items were responded to using the 'sometimes' category by less than one third of the respondents. These were items 19 ('student camps'), 20 ('playground supervision'), 21 ('typing materials for students'), 22 ('preparing materials for students in ethnic languages'), 23 ('duplicating materials for students'), 24 ('setting up equipment for students') and 25 ('interpreting/translating for students'). One interesting response in the 'sometimes' category was that more than half the aides (52.5 percent) indicated that they took students on trips.

Table 5.71

Ethnic Aides
TASKS: CLERICAL WORK

Categories of Clerical Work (%)

How often?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Often	67.8	33.1	17.8	20.3	14.4	6.8	40.7	29.7	5.9	10.2	16.1	22.9	66.1	14.4
Sometimes	16.9	34.7	44.9	34.7	21.2	36.4	32.2	22.9	27.1	13.6	32.2	28.0	16.1	48.3
Never	11.9	28.8	32.2	39.0	54.2	48.3	21.2	44.1	60.2	49.5	47.5	42.4	15.3	34.7
No response	3.4	3.4	5.1	5.9	10.2	8.5	5.9	3.4	6.8	6.8	4.2	6.8	2.5	2.5

N = 118

Table 5.72

Ethnic Aides
TASKS: DIRECT STUDENT ASSISTANCE

Categories of Direct Student Assistance (%)

How often?	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Often	39.8	34.7	22.0	18.6	0.8	22.0	21.2	29.7	49.2	25.4	45.8
Sometimes	39.8	38.1	49.2	52.5	11.0	24.6	29.7	23.7	19.5	29.7	28.8
Never	14.4	22.0	23.7	25.4	78.0	46.6	41.5	39.0	26.3	33.9	19.5
No response	5.9	5.1	5.1	3.4	10.2	6.8	7.6	7.6	5.1	11.0	5.9

N = 118

In summary:

- if we combine 'often' and 'sometimes' categories, 4 items had a response rate exceeding 70 percent. These then were the major tasks in this set. They were items 15 ('help individual students'), 16 ('take charge of a small group e.g. for conversation'), 17 ('provide information for teachers on individual students') and 18 ('take students on trips').
- if we combine 'never' and 'no response' categories (although it is understood that this would result in some error), the highest responses occur with items 19, 20 and 21 (exceeding 49 percent). Item 19 refers to 'taking students on camps', item 20 to 'playground supervision' and item 21 to 'typing materials for students'.

Public Relations: Table 5.73

Items 29, 30 and 31 showed a response rate in excess of 50 percent in the 'often' carried out category. Item 29 referred to 'interpretation/translation for parents on school matters'; item 30 to 'talking informally with parents about school matters' and item 31 to 'interpreting/translating for school on student and home matters'. Conversely these items showed the lowest 'never' response. The highest 'never' response was for item 26 ('explain the community to the school e.g. at staff meetings').

In summary:

- All of the items identified were tasks which at least some aides carried out.

- The tasks carried out by most aides (if we combine 'often' and 'sometimes' categories) were: 27, 28, 29, 30, and 31. The last three have been mentioned above. The first two refer to 'explaining the school to the community e.g. at parent meetings' and 'acting as a liaison between the school and individual parents by home visiting'.

- By far the least carried out task was 'explaining the community to the school'. This seems to suggest that schools do not express a need to gain more information about the ethnic community from which they draw their students via the medium of ethnic teacher aides. The information flow is directed out from the school.

Table 5.73

Ethnic Aides

TASKS: PUBLIC RELATIONS

Categories of Public Relations (%)

How Often?	26	27	28	29	30	31
Often	11.9	39.0	28.0	67.8	53.4	53.4
Sometimes	27.1	35.6	41.5	16.9	31.4	28.8
Never	52.5	19.5	23.7	10.2	11.0	11.9
No response	8.5	5.9	6.8	5.1	4.2	5.9

N = 118

Planning: Table 5.74

This table was marked by the much higher response rates in the 'never' category. For all items in this set, the 'never' response was greater than two-thirds (the range was from 39.0 percent to 68.6 percent). The only item to exceed 30 percent in the 'often' category was number 34 ('plan own work schedule day by day'). Obviously then the 'sometimes' category generally drew a higher response than the 'often' category.

In summary:

- By combining the 'often' and 'sometimes' categories, all tasks were carried out by some aides. The combined response rate ranged from 19.5 percent (item 36: 'organize work experience for students') to 40.6 percent (item 32: 'contribute ideas to the instructional program') to 51.7 percent (item 34: 'plan own work schedule day by day').
- Of the four major sets of ethnic aide tasks, only in the planning set were there consistently high responses across the whole set in the 'never' category. Clearly, planning is least available as part of the aides' job in comparison with public relations, direct student assistance and clerical work. In fact, if we average 'never' response rates for each set, the order for least likely jobs for ethnic aides is planning (54.4 percent), clerical work (39.2 percent), direct student assistance (33.4 percent) and public relations (21.4 percent). Of course, these results are distorted by lack of information on the 'no response' rates.

Table 5.74

Ethnic Aides

TASKS: PLANNING

Categories of Planning (%)

How Often?	32	33	34	35	36
Often	5.9	5.9	33.1	11.0	5.1
Sometimes	34.7	26.3	18.6	21.2	14.4
Never	49.2	56.8	39.0	58.5	68.6
No response	10.2	11.0	9.3	9.3	11.9

N = 118

Inspection of the open-ended section 'Any Other Activities' yielded the following results.

Frequently mentioned activities

First aid

Organizing functions

Order films

Take charge of A-V equipment repairs

Copy tapes

Sport supervision

Teach ethnic dancing and singing

Clean staffroom

Read stories in ethnic language to children.

Less frequently mentioned activities

Drive school bus

Actual teaching

Yard duty

Cooking

Manning the Switchboard

Gardening

Prepare weekly newsletter

Leader in holiday program

Feed fish

Aides were asked to indicate which of the major tasks they would prefer to do if they were free to choose. The unexpected result as shown in Table 5.75 was that the greatest response was 'no response' -- 25.7 percent. It is difficult to interpret the result when we note that clerical, direct student assistance and public relations gained very similar scores although planning and other activities were distinctly less favoured. One might suggest that aides have a range of tasks to do, they wish to preserve the range and are satisfied with their present job. On the other hand, it might be suggested that as the aide job is a rather uncertain one in terms of continued employment, status and so on, that many aides could not imagine any choice on their part becoming a reality and so chose not to respond to the question.

Rather than responding to a hypothetical set of circumstances, aides were then asked to state the most preferred and least preferred of the major tasks they were presently engaged in in their job. Table 5.76 shows that direct student assistance was the clear winner (60.2 percent) with public relations as the next preferred (24.6 percent) and planning the least preferred (0.8 percent) of the major tasks

Table 5.75

Ethnic Aides

Preferred Tasks by Choice

Task	%
Clerical	17.7
Direct Student Assistance	20.4
Public Relations	18.3
Planning	12.5
Other	7.4
No response	25.7
N = 118	

Table 5.76

Ethnic Aides

Preferred and Least Preferred Actual Task

Task	Preferred Actual Task %	Least Preferred Actual Task %
Clerical	8.5	28.8
Direct Student Assistance	60.2	2.5
Public Relations	24.6	8.5
Planning	0.8	22.9
Other	3.4	16.9
No response	2.5	20.3
	N = 118	

identified on the questionnaire. With regard to the least preferred, the pattern is not so clear, being influenced by the high non-response rate. Disregarding that rate, it is interesting that clerical work is rather less preferred (28.8 percent) than planning (22.9 percent). Clearly the most preferred tasks of direct student assistance and public relations don't show up strongly on the least preferred Table. Again, interpretation of the non-response rate is open to question. Are one-fifth of the aides so satisfied with their job that they do not have a least preferred major task? Did aides prefer not to express what could be construed by others as some criticism of their job? Interviews suggest that there is some support for each of these interpretations.

Finally, aides were asked to express an opinion on their value to the school and their feelings of acceptance in their positions. Responses to these questions are to be found in Tables 5.77 and 5.78.

In general, aides felt that they were enabling teachers to spend more time on teaching rather than non-teaching tasks (e.g. clerical work). They asserted also that they felt they were being effectively used. However we note again some uncertainty, as the 'not sure' response category showed 28.0 percent and 17.8 percent respectively for enabling increase in teaching time and being used effectively. The 'not sure' response rate was considerably higher than the 'no response' category (these rates were approximately 7 percent in both cases).

In Table 5.78, the results indicate that aides felt themselves to be highly accepted in their jobs. They suggested that students accepted them most, followed by parents and then teachers. It is interesting to note that not only were teachers seen to accept aides slightly less than the other two groups but that more aides responded in the 'not sure' category (11.0 percent) concerning teachers than for students (5.1 percent) or parents (8.5 percent). Aides did not feel that any teachers or parents definitely did not accept them but they indicated that there was some marginal feeling of non-acceptance among students.

Table 5.77

Ethnic Aides
Benefit to School

	Increase Teaching Time %	Effectively Used %
Yes	65.3	74.6
No	6.8	7.6
Not Sure	28.0	17.8
	N = 118	

Table 5.78

Ethnic Aides
Feel Accepted

	By Teaching Staff %	By Students %	By Parents %
Yes	89.0	93.2	91.5
No	0.0	1.7	0.0
Not Sure	11.0	5.1	8.5
		N = 118	

In the remaining tables, some of the results for ethnic aides have been cross-tabulated against type of school. Thus, we can examine results for ethnic teacher aides in high, technical and primary schools. Only general trends are commented on.

The pattern emerging from the question on why ethnic aides took on the job is an interesting one. Primary aides did not cite money or personal reasons as dominant concerns, but tended to have quite a number of 'other' reasons. Technical aides identified all of the categories of reasons listed as well as 'other' reasons; while high school aides indicated a strong spread of reasons, taking in all of the categories listed. (See Table 5.79)

In Table 5.80, primary and high school aides responded in all three categories to the question on whether they saw their job as a career or short-term employment. However, technical aides were evenly divided between 'short-term employment' and 'not sure'. On the other hand, the majority of technical aides saw themselves moving into teaching positions eventually, while primary and high school aides were not so sure and in fact, the majority of primary aides did not see themselves moving into a teaching position eventually. (See Table 5.81) The great majority of the aides expressed satisfaction with their jobs and interestingly, technical aides were more highly represented in the 'very satisfied' category. A higher proportion of primary aides than high school aides were to be found in the 'very satisfied' category. (See Table 5.82)

More primary aides than any other group indicated that they would like training for their job. The reverse situation applied with technical aides -- the majority indicated that they did not want job training. (See Table 5.83)

Table 5.79

ETHNIC AIDES: SCHOOL TYPE BY WHY TAKE JOB

SCHOOL TYPE	REASONS MORE MONEY %	PERSONAL REASONS %	HELPING OTHERS %	ALL OF ABOVE %	OTHER %
High	3.7	29.6	37.0	11.1	18.5
Technical	0.0	0.0	0.0	75.0	25.0
Primary	0.0	0.0	33.3	33.3	33.3
			N = 118		

Table 5.80

ETHNIC AIDES: SCHOOL TYPE BY JOB AS CAREER OR SHORT TERM EMPLOYMENT

SCHOOL TYPE	CAREER %	SHORT-TERM %	NOT SURE %
High	25.9	44.4	29.6
Technical	0.0	50.0	50.0
Primary	47.0	15.7	37.3
		N = 117	

Table 5.81

ETHNIC AIDES: SCHOOL TYPE BY DESIRE TO MOVE INTO TEACHING

SCHOOL TYPE	YES %	NO %	NOT SURE %
High	44.4	40.7	14.8
Technical	75.0	25.0	0.0
Primary	34.9	59.0	6.0
		N = 117	

Table 5.82

ETHNIC AIDES: SCHOOL TYPE BY JOB SATISFACTION

SCHOOL TYPE	VERY SATISFIED %	FAIRLY SATISFIED %	NOT SATISFIED %
High	51.9	44.4	3.7
Technical	75.0	25.0	0.0
Primary	67.9	31.0	1.2
		N = 118	

Table 5.83

ETHNIC AIDES: SCHOOL TYPE BY LIKE JOB TRAINING

SCHOOL TYPE	YES %	NO %
High	48.0	52.0
Technical	25.0	75.0
Primary	75.3	24.7
	N = 113	

With respect to the questions on the tasks high, technical and primary aides 'often', 'sometimes' or 'never' perform, certain trends were clear. (See Tables 5.84, 5.85, 5.86 and 5.87) These may be summarised as follows:

(1) Primary and high school aide responses tended in the same direction and with a few exceptions (Items 3, 9, 10, 11, 14, 20, 24, 28, 29, 32, 34 and 35) were very similar in magnitude.

(2) Technical aides provided quite a different distribution of responses, mainly due, of course, to the very small numbers in this group.

(3) Tasks for which high and primary aides showed quite some difference were:

(a) Clerical

3 -- prepare displays

9 -- correct tests

10 -- keep attendance records

11 -- collect money

14 -- supervise class for a few minutes.

Primary aides, more often, carried out tasks 3, 11 and 14 while high school aides more often undertook tasks 9 and 10.

(b) Direct student assistance

20 -- supervise the playground

24 -- set up equipment for students

Primary aides were more likely to carry out both of these tasks.

Table 5.84

ETHNIC AIDES: SCHOOL TYPE BY CLERICAL TASKS

TASK CLERICAL	SCHOOL TYPE								
	HIGH			TECHNICAL			PRIMARY		
Components	Often %	Sometimes %	Never %	Often %	Sometimes %	Never %	Often %	Sometimes %	Never %
1	66.7	16.7	16.7	50.0	0.0	50.0	72.3	19.3	8.4
2	36.0	24.0	40.0	25.0	25.0	50.0	34.1	40.2	25.6
3	8.0	32.0	60.0	0.0	75.0	25.0	22.5	52.5	25.0
4	25.0	12.5	62.5	50.0	0.0	50.0	18.8	45.0	36.3
5	15.0	25.0	60.0	0.0	75.0	25.0	16.5	21.5	62.0
6	0.0	22.7	77.3	0.0	50.0	50.0	7.6	44.3	48.1
7	45.8	29.2	25.0	0.0	75.0	25.0	43.8	33.8	22.5
8	20.8	25.0	54.2	25.0	25.0	50.0	33.7	24.1	42.2
9	12.0	20.0	68.0	0.0	75.0	25.0	3.8	29.5	66.7
10	16.7	33.3	50.0	50.0	25.0	25.0	6.3	8.9	84.8
11	4.0	36.0	60.0	0.0	50.0	50.0	19.8	33.3	46.9
12	25.0	29.2	45.8	50.0	25.0	25.0	22.8	30.4	46.8
13	60.0	16.0	24.0	75.0	0.0	25.0	69.9	18.1	12.0
14	26.9	42.3	30.8	0.0	100.0	0.0	12.2	50.0	37.8

N = 118

Table 5.85

ETHNIC AIDES: SCHOOL TYPE BY DIRECT STUDENT ASSISTANCE TASKS

TASK DIRECT STUDENT ASSISTANCE	SCHOOL TYPE								
	HIGH			TECHNICAL			PRIMARY		
Components	Often %	Sometimes %	Never %	Often %	Sometimes %	Never %	Often %	Sometimes %	Never %
15	52.0	40.0	3.0	75.0	25.0	0.0	39.2	43.0	17.7
16	37.5	33.3	29.2	50.0	25.0	25.0	37.0	43.2	19.8
17	28.0	44.0	28.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	20.0	53.8	26.3
18	12.0	52.0	36.0	0.0	75.0	25.0	22.0	53.7	24.4
19	0.0	4.8	95.2	0.0	25.0	75.0	1.3	11.5	87.2
20	0.0	8.7	91.3	0.0	0.0	100.0	31.3	32.5	36.3
21	25.0	29.2	45.8	33.3	66.7	0.0	22.8	32.9	44.3
22	20.0	40.0	40.0	75.0	0.0	25.0	33.8	22.1	44.2
23	44.0	24.0	32.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	55.0	18.8	26.3
24	13.6	31.8	54.5	33.3	66.7	0.0	32.5	31.2	36.4
25	56.0	36.0	8.0	66.7	33.3	0.0	46.3	27.5	26.3

N = 118

Table 5.86

ETHNIC AIDES: SCHOOL TYPE BY PUBLIC RELATIONS TASKS

TASK PUBLIC RELATIONS	SCHOOL TYPE								
	HIGH			TECHNICAL			PRIMARY		
Components	Often %	Sometimes %	Never %	Often %	Sometimes %	Never %	Often %	Sometimes %	Never %
26	8.0	28.0	64.0	33.3	33.3	33.3	13.0	29.9	57.1
27	48.0	32.0	20.0	75.0	25.0	0.0	36.7	41.8	21.5
28	44.0	36.0	20.0	75.0	25.0	0.0	23.1	50.0	26.9
29	84.0	4.0	12.0	75.0	0.0	25.0	67.5	22.5	10.0
30	61.5	19.2	19.2	50.2	50.0	0.0	55.0	35.0	10.0
31	68.0	24.0	8.0	75.0	0.0	25.0	51.9	34.2	13.9
	N = 118								

Table 5.87

ETHNIC AIDES: SCHOOL TYPE BY PLANNING TASKS

TASK PLANNING	SCHOOL TYPE								
	HIGH			TECHNICAL			PRIMARY		
Components	Often %	Sometimes %	Never %	Often %	Sometimes %	Never %	Often %	Sometimes %	Never %
32	12.5	45.8	41.7	0.0	100.0	0.0	5.3	33.3	61.3
33	8.7	30.4	60.9	0.0	75.0	25.0	6.7	25.3	68.0
34	47.8	21.7	30.4	100.0	0.0	0.0	28.6	20.8	50.6
35	20.8	25.0	54.2	25.0	50.0	25.0	9.2	22.4	68.4
36	4.3	30.4	65.2	0.0	75.0	25.0	6.8	9.5	83.8
	N = 118								

(c) Public Relations

28 -- act as liaison between schools and individual parents by home visiting.

29 -- interpret/translate for parents on school matters.

High school aides more 'often' carried out both of these tasks than primary aides. Primary aides responded to a greater degree in the 'sometimes' category.

(d) Planning

32 -- contribute ideas to the instructional program

34 -- plan work schedule day to day

35 -- initiate activities in the classroom.

High school aides were more likely than primary school aides to carry out these planning tasks.

The most liked task for all aides was that involving direct student assistance and, in fact, 100 percent of technical aides selected this task. The only other task to be given much support by high and primary aides was public relations. High and technical aides strongly nominated clerical tasks as their least preferred task. 'Planning' was the second least preferred task for high and primary aides and the three types of aides showed a relatively strong response against 'other' tasks. (See Tables 5.88.and 5.89)

Table 5.88

ETHNIC AIDES: SCHOOL TYPE BY TASK LIKED MOST

SCHOOL TYPE	TASK % CLERICAL	% DIRECT STUDENT ASSISTANCE	% PUBLIC RELATIONS	% PLANNING	% OTHER
High	7.4	66.7	22.2	3.7	0.0
Technical	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Primary	8.6	59.3	27.2	0.0	4.9

N = 115

Table 5.89

ETHNIC AIDES: SCHOOL TYPE BY TASK LIKED LEAST

SCHOOL TYPE	TASK % CLERICAL	% DIRECT STUDENT ASSISTANCE	% PUBLIC RELATIONS	% PLANNING	% OTHER
High	50.0	4.5	0.0	27.3	18.2
Technical	66.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3
Primary	29.9	3.0	14.9	29.9	22.4
	N = 94				

Technical aides were least certain that they enabled teachers to devote more time to teaching, but they were 100 percent certain that they were used effectively in the school. Primary and high school aides gave very similar responses to both of these questions. (See Table 5.90) Again, technical aides were 100 percent certain that they were accepted by teachers, students and parents. High and primary aides considered that about 10 percent of teachers did not accept them and high school aides indicated that about 15 percent of parents did not accept them. (See Table 5.91)

Table 5.90

ETHNIC AIDES: SCHOOL TYPE BY EFFECTIVE USE OF ETHNIC AIDES

	CRITERIA					
	ENABLE MORE TEACHING			USED EFFECTIVELY IN SCHOOL		
SCHOOL TYPE	YES %	NO %	NOT SURE %	YES %	NO %	NOT SURE %
High	66.7	3.7	29.6	74.1	11.1	14.8
Technical	25.0	25.0	50.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Primary	71.3	7.5	21.3	76.8	7.3	15.9
	N = 114			N = 116		

Table 5.91

ETHNIC AIDES: SCHOOL TYPE BY ACCEPTANCE OF ETHNIC AIDES

SCHOOL TYPE	TEACHERS % YES	TEACHERS % NO	STUDENTS % YES	STUDENTS % NO	PARENTS % YES	PARENTS % NO
High	88.9	11.0	84.6	7.7	84.6	15.4
Technical	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
Primary	89.2	10.8	97.6	0.0	95.2	4.8
			N = 116			

SUMMARY

(1) The extent of employment of ethnic teacher aides[1]

The present survey was confined to the situation in state high, technical and primary schools in Melbourne and its metropolitan area. The results of the Ethnic Education Census had indicated that some country schools might have bilingual staff but that they did not employ ethnic teacher aides. It should be noted however, that a number of country schools employ Aboriginal teacher aides funded under a specific federal grant. We, in fact, gathered some information on one country school which had such an aide. Thus, the phenomenon of the ethnic teacher aide tends to be a city-based one as might be expected given the location and distribution of the bulk of the migrant population in Victoria, especially post-World War II.

Ethnic teacher aides are more prevalent in primary schools compared with high or technical schools. This is related to the task of the primary school in which language development is a prime component. The breadth of the school's socialization role in relation to young children is a second related variable. The tradition of voluntary helpers (particularly mothers) in the primary school constitutes a third factor. Also of significance is the generally held view that the school and the home should work together harmoniously to be of the greatest benefit for children. Hence, any hindrances to communication between school and home (such as the barrier of language) are likely to be met with concern and a desire to find solutions. High and technical schools are likely to see the increased ethnic diversification of their populations in 'crisis' terms and to apply the remedy of the ethnic teacher aide, in a sense, as a remedy for the schools themselves rather than the development of the students.

The employment of ethnic teacher aides expanded rapidly from the beginnings in 1974. The key structure in the dissemination of the innovation was the Disadvantaged Schools Program of the Schools Commission. By-passing the bureaucracy at the state level (not entirely, but to a large extent), individual schools had for the first time access to resources which, in their opinion, would meet their needs as defined by themselves. This contrasts sharply with the early schemes for federal intervention at the school level of education. For example, in the Science Grants Scheme of the early 1960's, all schools were allocated the same equipment regardless of their particular requirements. To illustrate the new flexibility under the Schools Commission, some schools reacted to the ethnic diversity within their populations by obtaining funds to employ ethnic teacher aides. Other schools, with similar background features, preferred to obtain funds for general teacher aides. It may be, however, that with the decrease in Schools Commission funds and/or with increased controls over the priorities in Schools Commission funding, the expansion in the employment of ethnic teacher aides will be contained. We have noted also, that the state government in Victoria has made provision for the employment of ethnic teacher aides. The balance of federal-state relations in this area is one of interest and requires systematic monitoring.

(2) Attitude towards the presence of ethnic teacher aides[2]

The survey indicated that principals were rather more positive than teachers in their attitude towards the presence of ethnic teacher aides. That is, a relatively higher percentage of principals indicated that they wanted ethnic teacher aides in their school. Although, in fact, there was a high positive response among teachers too, there was a range of comments which expressed caution about the idea.

It is possible that such an attitude emanates from a number of sources. Elements could include perceptions of:

(1) threat to the teacher's autonomy -- that is, for many teachers their classroom is their domain. The presence of other adults could be seen as an intrusion;

(2) threat to previously accepted definitions of 'teaching' as opposed to 'non-teaching' tasks;

(3) threat to the teacher's control of knowledge -- ethnic teacher aides have command of another language; teachers may not, hence they are unable to fully control the flow of information in the classroom;

(4) threat to the teacher's self-esteem -- for example, ethnic teacher aides may 'get on' with some students in a class better than the teacher.

From the aides' point of view, they seemed to sense some constraint on the teachers' part. Aides indicated that they were less sure about whether they were accepted by teachers. Such constraint may lead to ambiguity in role and status identification for aides.[3]

(3) Involvement of school personnel in the employment of ethnic teacher aides

The results of the survey indicated that about half of the principals had been involved in decision-making concerned with the employment of ethnic teacher aides in their own schools as compared with slightly more than a third of the teachers. (There was little positive response to *the part of the question which referred to involvement in decision-making* outside the school.) Such a result is related to the committee structure required for the initiating and processing of submissions for Supplementary Grants. Both at school level and at region level only selected teachers would sit on the committees and, hence, only a few teachers would have direct involvement in decision-making.

Distance from the point of decision-making is likely to be perceived as greater by high and technical teachers than by primary teachers. It is probably more usual for a whole primary staff to meet and discuss an educational philosophy for the school which is then reflected in policy. Policy is translated into action via specific programs. Some of these programs may be supported by Supplementary Grants Funds. Individual departments in high and technical schools may devise philosophies, policies, programs (and hence, Supplementary Grants Submissions) without necessarily consulting with and receiving the approval of the whole staff.

(4) Union and other teacher association views on ethnic teacher aides as perceived by school personnel

Neither principals nor teachers had much information on whether their union/association had discussed the issue of employment of ethnic teacher aides and/or had a policy on it. Principals were perhaps clearer that their association had not discussed and/or did not have a policy on the matter.

There is no way of telling from the survey what the above result actually connotes. However, it does raise some interesting questions. For example, are principals and teachers accurate in their assessment that their unions/associations have little interest in this issue as evidenced by lack of discussion/policy? If so, why is it so? If these organizations 'represent' their members and, as we have found, quite a high proportion of our sample appear to have strong interest and support for ethnic teacher aides, why aren't these views more obvious in the organizations? Does the result indicate poor communication between the organizations and their members or the apathy of the membership who do not find out what is going on in their union/ association?

Some possible answers to these questions have been given in the previous chapter on the interview phase of the study. At the time of the study, the teacher organizations had indeed little information on the ethnic aide question. Hence, there had been a dearth of discussion and policy development. We were given signs though, that these organizations were being forced to consider their position on multiculturalism and education. Thus, they would inevitably need to consider at some point the whole question of ethnic personnel in the educational workforce.

(5) Views on training of ethnic teacher aides as aides and as potential teachers

Most principals favoured some sort of training for aides and had quite specific suggestions to offer such as block release for courses in state colleges. On the question of opportunity for ethnic teacher aides to become teachers, the response was not at all clear-cut. There was a substantial 'not sure' response by principals from high and technical schools and a fairly evenly divided response between those who definitely stated 'Yes' and those who stated 'No'.

Teachers were ambivalent about the training issue per se, as the large no response/'not sure' result indicated. However, they could identify the preferred form of training. In their case, short in-service courses were most frequently mentioned. In contrast to principals, technical teachers were very much in favour of opportunity for ethnic teacher aides to become teachers, next came high school teachers followed by fewer than half of the primary teachers. The technical teachers' response may reflect the common practice of employing experienced trades people as teachers with the provision of a concurrent form of teacher training.

Here we can speculate on differences in perceptions between administrators and teachers and among teachers located in different strata of the educational system. Principals, of necessity, are concerned with the efficient management of the total organization. We have noted that for principals (as indeed for some teachers), the term 'untrained' has a pejorative ring to it. (Therefore, untrained aides can be seen as problems.) This may help to account for the principals generally favouring training for aides. On the other hand, those principals (especially at the primary level) who held strongly to a philosophy of school-home partnership in the education of the child, might prefer 'untrained', warm and motherly helpers in their schools as aides.

One of the great struggles by teacher unions in Victoria in the post-war years has been over qualifications/status. Agreement has been achieved and definite criteria established on who is a qualified, certificated teacher in the state education system. The employment of auxillary staff, notions of training and facilitation of untrained to trained status may well induce anxiety amongst some teachers given the present situation of teacher 'surplus', limited tenure employment and contracting educational funding in state education.

Distinct from these issues are others. For example, concerning the nature of training, the concept of 'in-service education' is firmly established for the professional development of teachers. Thus, the structures and expertise are available to provide training for ethnic teacher aides. And again, a very revealing comment was made by one teaching writing in the space left for answers to the question on training. This teacher did not favour training for ethnic teacher aides because this was just another example of 'universities finding jobs for themselves'. Education is an industry made up of many component parts. In a time of financial constraint, uncertainty of enrolments and so on, this teacher has obviously seen the university having more power to protect its educational staff, that is, 'they' can diversify into providing courses not just for teachers but for teacher aides.

School level educators do not have the same flexibility in their jobs. School teachers in the educational workforce were perceived to be more vulnerable than university teachers. We noted also that many aides expressed fears about their vulnerability in the educational workforce. One could imagine that teachers might wish to maintain an hierarchical arrangement by which teachers have higher status than teacher aides. One way of doing this is to retain a qualifications differential. This is yet another instance of the political factors to be considered in this type of research.

Finally, it should be noted that aides themselves generally favoured training. Their views on the nature of training covered approximately the same range as suggested by principals and teachers.

(6) The benefit of ethnic teacher aides in schools

This question also revealed discrepant views between principals and teachers. Principals were unanimous that these aides were of benefit to students. More than half of the technical teachers were 'not sure', and a small percentage of high and primary teachers thought ethnic teacher aides did not benefit students.

In the case of technical teachers, we must remember that technical schools have not in the past provided languages other than English in the curriculum. Therefore, the notion of teaching community languages or of offering programs and services taking into account the ethnic languages of students may be somewhat more novel to technical teachers than to high school teachers.

Principals may have considerations of manpower efficiency in mind in their perceptions of the value of ethnic teacher aides. As we have seen, these aides function in a number of roles as clerical worker, public relations officer, and interpreter/translator. To have assistance with such a variety of tasks, obtained for less money than would be required if professionals were employed, must have some weight with administrators. Other relevant pragmatic aspects are that principals must staff their schools within the constraints due to staff ceilings imposed by the Education Department. As the great majority of aides are funded from the federal government and are not part of the staffing establishment, it seems predictable that principals should support their employment.

Primary teachers were the group most strongly positive about the benefits to be derived from ethnic teacher aides. In their case, we might suggest that educational criteria rather than purely pragmatic criteria have influenced teachers' views. Primary schools seemed on the whole to have a more holistic approach to the use of aides. The philosophy and the programs to reflect that philosophy appeared to have been devised by the staff generally and for a high degree of consensus to have been reached on policy implementation. For these reasons, the concept and role of the ethnic teacher aide may be clearer at the primary level. This, in turn, may lead to a readier evaluation of aims and purposes and of the contribution of the ethnic teacher aide to them.

The complexity of evaluation of innovations and their diffusion is not to be underestimated. The present study was not an evaluation study per se. It is our view that evaluation is an on-going process and many different types of studies and many investigators (including school personnel themselves) are needed for the task.

One commonality amongst views of principals and teachers on this question was to do with the ethnic teacher aide's value as a link.[4] The link was conceputalized in a number of ways. One example was as a 'connecting pipeline' along which information could be passed either way with the aide encoding and decoding according to the initiator and the recipient of the message. This process occurs in the classroom between ethnic students and their teachers and in the community between the school and the ethnic parents. The key is communication. For the majority of mono-lingual teachers and principals, the ethnic teacher aide has skills which even bilingual teachers could not as readily bring into operation in both school and community.

The indicators of discrepant views such as negative and 'not sure' responses, however, alert us to the possibility of threat in relations between teachers and teacher aides. If teachers perceive that the boundary between teaching and non-teaching roles is permeable, they may not wish to concede the benefits to be obtained by the use of ethnic teacher aides. If teachers feel unsure of their skills anyway because of the presence of cultural and linguistic diversity in their classrooms, they may resent the competence of the ethnic paraprofessional.

Aides themselves generally felt that they enabled teachers to concentrate more on teaching and that they were used effectively in the schools. On the other hand, negative and 'not sure' responses were sufficient to suggest that the concept, role and operationalization of the role of ethnic teacher aide require further consideration or refinement.

(7) The continuing need for ethnic teacher aides

There was a remarkable consistency of views amongst principals and teachers that the need for ethnic teacher aides is a continuing one. In contrast to the position taken by many administrators, teachers and others in the early 1970's when the Child Migrant Education Program was adopted as a short-term necessity, the current provision of bilingual personnel at the aide level is seen as a long-term commitment. Perhaps this is an indicator of change from an ideology of assimilation to one of cultural pluralism or of multiculturalism.[5]

Another interpretation might be advanced (given the fairly fortuitous distribution of bilingual teachers in Victorian schools) that this attitude, on the surface supportive of ethnic teacher aides, is rather a social control mechanism; that is, as a means of maintaining the status quo.[6] The dominant professional group in the education system (of Anglo-Australian ethnic origin or identified as such) limits the potential of minority groups in the educational workforce (of ethnic origin other than Anglo-Australian) to the status of teacher aide rather than teacher and further, limits the role potential of the ethnic teacher aide to a peripheral status, as it is at present. This is no doubt a controversial interpretation. Our only contention is that it should be taken into account in any attempts to understand and explain the educational consequences of Australian multiculturalism.

(8) Views on employment of bilingual teachers VS bilingual teacher aides

Principals came out strongly in favour of using ethnic teacher aides to supplement bilingual teachers rather than to replace them. The trend in the teachers' responses was similar but showed a greater level of uncertainty. We suggest that the motivation for these responses lies in a number of factors already identified. These included political (to do with allocation of scarce resources and the cost of personnel), professional (to do with who is and who is not a 'professional' and the definition of that term) and psychological (in terms of perceived self-esteem).

It was interesting to note that teacher aides themselves were not overwhelmingly interested in converting from aide status to teacher status. This attitude naturally derives from a host of reasons. Some of these might be previous educational standing, stage in life-cycle, interest and so on. Others are likely to be related to the aide's satisfaction and fulfilment in the aide role itself.[7] This was especially salient for aides in primary schools.

(9) Perceptions of the job of, and problems in the employment of ethnic teacher aides

The survey found that the categories used to describe the tasks of the ethnic teacher aide were useful in that principals, teachers and aides themselves appeared to have no difficulty in understanding them and using them. Secondly, provision was made for any of these groups to add tasks which did not appear to be covered by these categories. The open-ended section was used but not extensively. Therefore one assumes that the categories and specific tasks were a valid description of what principals and teachers thought aides did and what aides said they did.

The categories were: clerical work e.g. duplicate materials for teachers; direct student assistance e.g. help individual students; public relations e.g. explain the school to the community; planning e.g. contribute ideas to the instructional program; and any other activities e.g. help with needlework at the school. Clerical work and public relations were the most used categories, that is, professionals agreed that these were the tasks which were 'often' and 'sometimes' carried out by aides and aides supported that perception. The task category next in importance was direct student assistance. Aides themselves preferred the people-oriented aspects of their work (that is, direct student assistance and public relations) while clerical assistance and planning were not favoured.

The breadth of the ethnic teacher aide job was a highlight of the findings of the survey. Data were obtained from teachers and principals on the multiplicity of tasks as well as from aides. This was interesting in that on the one hand, there is high consensus on perceived and actual tasks of ethnic teacher aides and yet closer examination of results reveals certain discrepancies. Discrepant views arise for a number of reasons:

(a) Some principals did not know what the aides did -- presumably because they had little contact with them.

(b) Some aides described tasks in the 'other' category which could be described as 'teaching', although teachers had not identified these tasks.

(c) Simply stating what one thinks aides do does not necessarily indicate what they 'ought' to do.

(d) If aides state that they carry out X tasks with Y frequency, this does not indicate whether they want to do such tasks, whether they choose to do such tasks, what value can be placed on them, what the consequences are, and so on.

Therefore, while the survey may tell us something of the job of the ethnic teacher aide in some Melbourne high, technical and primary schools, it is a limited picture. This is one of the reasons why we built into the research design, the case-study methodology to explore a small number of schools in more detail.

The survey, however, does serve other useful functions.

(i) It provides us with a profile of the 'typical' ethnic teacher aide. We do not wish to fall into the trap of stereotyping and so we shall give a simple listing of a number of attributes emerging from the limited sample available to us.

Ethnic teacher aides tended to be:

- female
- married

- in the age bracket 20-44
- bi- or multilingual (in English and languages such as Greek, Italian, Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, Turkish)
- born overseas in a non-English speaking country
- residents of Australia for 11 years or more
- residents of the north-western section of the Melbourne metropolitan area
- living close to the school at which she is employed
- without membership in a union
- educated to secondary school level or above.

(ii) It helps us to identify a number of roles played by the ethnic teacher aide. For example[8], we might list the following:

Motivator -- for example, the aide reinforces correct responses made by the student with a language background and culture different from the teacher.

Model -- for example, for first phase learners (in this case, the ethnic teacher aide can operate in the language of the classroom and the student's ethnic language).

Supervisor -- for example, the aide may take charge of the playground or help supervise students in their rooms on wet days.

Informant -- for example, the aide may be able to supply information to the teacher on cultural factors affecting the learning and behaviour of ethnic students in the Australian classroom.

Housekeeper -- for example, the aide may take charge of supplies to the classroom, the actual physical state of classroom and staff-room, and provide refreshments for the professional staff.

Technician -- for example, the aide may operate and service audio-visual equipment.

What seemed to emerge from the survey data was a dissonance between professionals (teachers and principals) and non-professionals (ethnic teacher aides) over elements which might be associated with the teacher (or at least instructor) role. That is, although some professionals and non-professionals might refer to the same task, professionals would avoid using language which might suggest teaching whereas teacher aides would not.

In sum, for those roles (or sub-sets within a role) which are more distant from the teacher role, there is common acceptance between teachers, administrators and aides. For those roles (or sub-sets within a role) which are generally subsumed under the term 'teaching', less agreement is found among teachers, administrators and aides.

This is an interesting observation for a number of obvious reasons. One of the less obvious reasons, however, is that on the basis of this survey, Australian teachers and principals hold fairly stereotyped expectations for the ethnic teacher aide.[9] The potentiality of ethnic teacher aides specifically and teacher aides generally in, for example, the instructional area has not been expressed in this study. Neither has the concept of differentiated staffing and the place of ethnic personnel received attention. These limitations may be a further reflection of the confusion over the concept of multiculturalism itself.

(iii) It reinforces for us the need to adopt some measure of 'triangulation' in coming to grips with perceived problems in the employment of ethnic teacher aides. That is, we must obtain information from the employer, the employee, and associates of the employee. This was no easy task in the present study and the data were not obtained merely from the within-school survey. This is why the interview, survey and case-study phases of the study had to be implemented and have been reported separately.

The within-school survey enabled us to examine views of principals in schools with and without aides, of teachers in schools with and without aides and who worked directly with or did not work directly with ethnic teacher aides, and of ethnic teacher aides. However, because of non-probability sampling, we cannot treat these groups separately. Also, it was found, on the limited data available, that distinctive views for professionals in schools without aides or professionals who had no direct contact with ethnic teacher aides did not emerge from this study. Hence, we are left with three groups only, principals, teachers, ethnic teacher aides.

Given that schools employ but do not fund the aides, we can see principals and teachers as employers in only some senses of that term. The term consociates[10] has been introduced to attempt to label a relationship which was not in all cases a colleague relationship of aides, teachers and principals. What is being expressed is the notion that principals, teachers and aides are three types of educational personnel, contemporaneously functioning in a particular work location, the consequences of whose work impinge on one or other group to a greater or lesser degree according to the individual school. Each group, however, has significance for the school client groups - students and parents.

It was noted that quite an amount of satisfaction was expressed by principals and teachers with their ethnic teacher aides (conversely, an indication of few problems). Teachers tended to be more critical, that is, to perceive more problems. Perceived problems tended to fall into two categories, those arising within the school, e.g. 'boundary' disputes and those arising external to the school, e.g. need to rank programs for Supplementary Grants funding. For aides, problems tended to cluster around practical issues like lack of security of tenure, low pay, relationship issues, for example, manifestations of professional reserve and suspicion in teachers, and pedagogical issues, that is, many aides would like to be of more assistance in teaching-learning areas - reading, mathematics, language. In sum, not unexpectedly there is a dichotomy between the problems of utilization of ethnic teacher aides as between principals and teachers, on the one hand, and ethnic teacher aides, on the other.

Hopefully, the results and discussion of more extended observation in selected schools which appear in the next chapter, will deepen the discussion of issues and concerns initiated in this chapter based on the survey results.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The general trends noted in the Victorian situation are similar to those commented upon in the review of the North American and Canadian literature in Chapter I. For example, Federal funding accompanying Federal structures, expansion of employment of aides in the post-war period, concentration of aides, especially women, in elementary schools. The ethnic groups which have been the major targets for assistance through ethnic personnel are, of course, different. Indians in Canada and Negroes in the United States have been seen as the most disadvantaged groups. Especially in Canada, the ethnic paraprofessional is also to be found in rural areas because of the location of Indian people.

2. The question of attitude receives further consideration in Chapter VI which presents a number of case-studies of schools. The overseas literature reflects also a concern over attitude. Two brief examples will illustrate this point.

   (i) Balderson and Nixon noted in their Canadian study that

   > ...aides felt that there was a need in every school to continually "prove" that aides would not detract from the autonomy of the teacher and would be content to confine their activities to those tasks designated by the teacher.

   (ii) King discussed the role and status of teachers (professionals) vis-à-vis aides (paraprofessionals). He considered that for teachers

   > A status mystique is...clearly established. Teachers are professional by institutionalized definition. They may be callow youth with minimal training and marginal competence, or anachronistic autocrats hanging on another year until retirement is possible, but they *are* the professionals as far as the working life of the organization is concerned. The paraprofessional may have any number of desirable human and instructional attributes, but he is absolutely *non*-professional -- not the teachers' peer -- and thus organizationally and operationally subordinate.

   J. Balderson and M. Nixon, Teachers' Aides: Tasks and Concerns. *The Canadian Administrator*, XV(8), 1976, p.4, and A. King, The Native Indian "Paraprofessional" in British Columbia. *Northian*, 11(3), 1975, pp. 22-23.

3. As Foskett and Wolcott have suggested:

   > There is a complex or structure of norms, involving behaviour of teachers, principals, pupils, parents, citizens and others in regard to the formal educational process. The nature of this structure, the kinds of expectations the members of these groups have for themselves and for each other, and the extent of agreement among the members of each group and

> between groups, will have an effect on the relations of individuals and the effectiveness of the total educational program.

Quoted in R. Canady and J. Seyfarth, Teacher-Administrator Expectations in Defining Roles for Paraprofessionals. *Education*, 92(3), 1972, p. 99.

4. The same point was identified and discussed by Bernice Williams in her article, A Community Resource: The Bilingual Paraprofessional, in *Bilingual Education,* eds. H. La Fontaine, B. Persky and L. Golubchick, Wayne, N.J.: Avery, 1978, pp. 364-366, referring to the American context.

5. These issues receive close attention in the book by Jean Martin, *The Migrant Presence.* Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1978, especially Chapters 3 and 4.

6. This position is explored by King, op cit. for the native Indian paraprofessional in Canada.

7. In Godwin's terms, the highest satisfaction comes when aides' perceptions of themselves and the perceptions of aides by teachers and others, agree, that is, when the aide is seen as an *asset*. D. Godwin, The Bilingual Teacher Aide: Classroom Asset. *Elementary School Journal*, 77(4), 1977, pp. 265-267.

8. Discussed for aides in the U.S. in Godwin, op cit., pp. 266-267 or L. Johnson and R. Faunce, Teacher Aides: A Developing Role, *Elementary School Journal*, 74, 1973-74, pp. 136-144.

9. We are not alone in our failure to take into account this aspect of the utilization of ethnic personnel in the educational workforce. See for example, the discussions in King, op cit., for the Canadian context and for the United States context, D. Allen and G. Morrison, Differentiated Staffing and the Non-professional: A Need for Educational Personnel Development. *Journal of Research and Development in Education*, 5(2), 1972, pp. 51-56; J. Bloom, The Potential of Teacher Aides in Instruction. *The Educational Forum*, XXXVII(2), 1973, pp.195-199; J. Natzke and W. Bennett, Teacher Aide Use and Role Satisfaction of Innter-city Teachers. *Education and Urban Society*, 2, 1969-70, pp. 295-314; and F. Riessman, Can Schools Teach Children: What is Stopping Them - What is to be Done? *Journal of Research and Development in Education*, 5(2), 1972, pp. 83-80.

10. We are here not adhering strictly to the Schutzian interpretation of consociates. Aspects of Alfred Schutz's sociology of knowledge were introduced in Chapter III.

CHAPTER VI

SELECTED CASE-STUDIES

Introduction

The essence of the case-study in sociology has been described by Mitchell[1] as:

> a holistic treatment of a subject whereby through the detailed examination of one instance information about a class of entities of which this is one may be obtained.

There has been criticism of the method for its failure to provide results of a general nature. Those who favour the method, however, have countered this charge by suggesting that the case-study provides a useful preliminary approach to discover important variables and categories which could then be tested by reference to a number of situations.

In this study, the case-study method was employed subsequent to the initial survey of schools. The heterogeneity found amongst schools with respect to the use of ethnic teacher aides and the actual contexts in which the aides worked made it difficult for us to arrive at a set of relatively simple conclusions about the concept and role of such aides. To help us with that task, we decided to examine a very small number of schools in more detail. The selection of the schools rested on criteria established following the completion of the survey process.

The constraints operating on the study limited the case-study method to the initial visit to each school followed by a follow-up visit of one day. Data were obtained by means of the initial questionnaires, interviews and observation, with extension of interviewing and observing on the second visit. We were conscious of the problems inherent in reliance on the technique of observation. In particular, the problems of seeing 'the world' accurately have been succinctly expressed as:[2]

- Researchers can't see it all even if they wanted to.
- Researchers have to interpret what they see.
- Researchers interact with what they see, that is, they may produce at least some of their own observations.

The case-study approach was considered justified in that only direct observation of actual school situations could enable us to see ethnic teacher aides in action. The problems were minimized by the taking of observations at different times, by trying to gain an understanding of situations through the eyes of different participants (principals, teachers and ethnic teacher aides), by supplementing observations with other measuring instruments (for example, self-administered questionnaires and analysis of school documents), and by deploying the research assistants according to their background experience (that is, the assistant familiar with post-primary schools conducted the surveys and case-studies in high and technical schools). Finally, we also made some comparisons between the case-study schools with ethnic teacher aides and similar schools which did not have ethnic teacher aides.

Survey results provided the basis for the case-study work. Below are listed some of the findings which were taken into account when selected schools were approached concerning a follow-up visit. It should be noted that not all schools approached agreed to participate in the case-study phase of the study. We had hoped originally to examine five schools in each of the categories of high school, technical school and primary school.

Only four primary schools, three high schools and two technical schools featured as case-study schools.

Even these selected findings serve to illustrate the changing nature of the situation which the study examined and the range of views expressed on ethnic teacher aides. The findings were ordered to provide information on schools' use of ethnic teacher aides by examining the following factors: (1) contextual features of the schools, (2) perceived (and observed) role of ethnic teacher aides, and (3) perceived problems in the use of ethnic teacher aides. The case-study schools exhibited both similarities and differences on these factors.

The original survey of the whole sample of schools provided us with some general ideas on the above factors. It would seem useful to summarize these ideas prior to presenting the selected case-studies.

Contextual Features

- The dispersion of ethnic groups in Melbourne has resulted in very diverse enrolments in schools. Inner suburbs generally and certain outer-ring suburbs are particularly affected. It is not unusual for schools to have students from 10 or more different ethnic backgrounds, and some schools even reach as high as 25-30 different groups.

- The ethnic backgrounds of new migrant students in Melbourne schools has not remained constant. Schools which previously received numbers of Greek, Italian, Yugoslav or Northern and Eastern European students may now be faced with students from one or more of the following areas: Lebanon, Turkey, the Arab States, South American countries, Asia, the Philippines, China and the African states.

- The status of many new migrant students has changed from voluntary immigrant to that of refugee. It is still probably true that most new immigrants find a place initially in the schools of the inner-suburbs. However, the siting of refugee hostels has meant that some schools in areas of Melbourne unused to receiving new migrants (for example, some of the middle-class Eastern suburbs schools) have had the nature of their enrolments altered in a very brief space of time.

- The response to ethnic (and socio-economic) diversity in schools has rested largely on Federal government intervention in school-level education through the provisions of the Schools Commission. Programs such as the Disadvantaged Schools Program, the Special Projects Program or the General Recurrent Grants Program[3], have enabled the channelling of massive funds to government and non-government schools throughout Australia. Since 1975, there have been reductions in Federal government funds to the Schools Commission and greater control over the distribution of those funds. One consequence of these changes appears to have been a de facto change from a needs-based policy to a population-based policy. For example, schools which do not have sufficient numbers of (officially defined) disadvantaged students may find themselves ineligible to receive supplementary grants funding even though the diverse ethnic composition of the enrolment is reflected in learning difficulties among students, communication problems between schools and parents, and staff ceilings which limit the teaching staff in areas such as migrant education.

Concept[4] and Role[5] of Ethnic Teacher Aides

Professional views[6] (principals and teachers):

1. Generalized helper in schools

   (a) as (ethnic) aide

   - Clerical worker (e.g. duplicating, typing, banking, answering the telephone, ordering supplies, using language(s) other than English where appropriate)

   - Public relations person (e.g. liaises between ethnic community and school, carrying out interpreting and translating tasks for communications sent home or at parent visits and parent-teacher nights).

   - Equipment officer (e.g. maintains and operates audio-visual equipment).

   - Housekeeper (e.g.'another paid of hands' to make the tea and coffee in the staffroom, or to accompany sick children to their homes.

   (b) as (ethnic) teacher aide:

   - Materials and equipment officer (e.g. prepares wall displays, controls class-library, maintains equipment such as overhead projector in the classroom).

   - Interpreter/translator (e.g. acts as go-between for teacher and non-English speaking students in oral exchanges, helps individual students with written material).

   - Acts as teacher or teacher's assistant (e.g. explains mathematics concepts in student's ethnic language, helps individual students with reading, supervises class for a few minutes in teacher's absence)

2. Specific helper in schools - as ethnic teacher aide

   - Attached to designated programs in school, e.g. language, community liaison, student welfare.

   - Integral part of planning, implementation and evaluation process for programs.

   - Accepted as full member of team responsible for a program.

   - Particular language and cultural skills are recognized criteria for selection of aides to work with teachers on specific programs.

   - The boundary between teaching and non-teaching activities in the classroom may be clearly defined or ill-defined.

Aide views:

- Either generalized or specific helper or some combination of the two.

- Combination of ethnic aide and ethnic teacher aide.

- Ethnicity (e.g., expressed in language, culture, identification with a particular ethnic group, sense of being a representative of that group) seen as a key attribute.

- Significant roles seen as working with children of their own ethnic background but also working with children generally, providing a link ('a cultural bridge') between the school community and the ethnic community, as forming a team with the professionally-trained teacher.

- The aide job as a stepping-stone to a teaching career as a fully fledged para-professional career as an interesting and worthwhile job, but not as a career.

Problems

Professional views:

- Lack of bilingual teachers may lead to the use of ethnic teacher aides as teachers - a dangerous situation, for example, because of strong teacher union stance on trained teachers.

- Teachers may experience a feeling of reduction of status vis-à-vis the ethnic teacher aide because of lack of competence in languages other than English or because ethnic students may relate more readily to the ethnic teacher aide.

- Ethnic teacher aides may not be fluent in English.

- Ethnic teacher aides may be kept out of classroom work because of the three problems stated above, thus delimiting the role of the aide.

- Principals and teachers may see no need for ethnic teacher aides because they give priority to the learning of English. They may prefer bilingual teachers because they are trained teachers in contrast to most teacher aides.

- Conflict can result in a school where the ethnic teacher aide is not accepted by the staff.

- The interpreting and translating skills of ethnic teacher aides may be perceived as being inadequate.

- Clerical tasks for ethnic teacher aides may be emphasized to the extent that many tasks requiring largely'ethnic' skills are neglected.

- Lack of clarity among professionals concerning the concept and role of the ethnic teacher aide may lead to an excessive workload for the aide.

- The problem of priorities in selecting an ethnic teacher aide. For example, (i) should the aide represent the largest minority group, the refugee group, or some other group, or (ii) should the school divert diminishing funds into resources other than human resources (which are relatively expensive)?

Aide views[7]:

- Conditions (such as lack of job security) and low salary mitigate against the para-professional status of the ethnic teacher aide.

- Ethnic teacher aides with teaching qualifications from overseas receive no recognition for their qualifications.

- Competence in languages other than English should lead to equal status with teachers who are only English speaking but aides are often not accepted by teachers.

- Primary schools tend to take advantage more of the cultural background of ethnic teacher aides, enabling them to initiate cultural activities for migrant and Anglo-Australian students.

- Aides who work in a teaching capacity in some other context (for example, in ethnic schools) can become frustrated if their role is restricted to non-teaching or non-student-centred activities in the state school.

- Where the language skills of the ethnic teacher aide are not utilized, aides may be overwhelmed with mundane or routine tasks. This may lead to a feeling of isolation or alienation from the educational nature of the job.

CASE-STUDIES

Primary Schools

1. Why were the schools selected and what were their background features?

School A

This school was selected because it contained one 'major' ethnic group - children from Turkish backgrounds. Turkish language and culture are less familiar to many Anglo-Australians than those of longer established groups. The school was interesting because it had both a bilingual (Turkish-English) teacher and a Turkish teacher aide and the teacher aide was male.

- Located in a nort-western inner Melbourne suburb surrounded by high rise flats.

- Enrolment approximately 280; 55% of migrant origin.

- About 22 ethnic groups represented in school population; four largest were Turkish, Yugo-slav, Spanish and Greek. Newest group, Vietnamese.

- Five languages (French, Spanish, Hebrew, German and Turkish) to be found among staff members.

- Modern building based on open-plan classroom design.

- A number of migrant English teachers on staff.

- The ethnic teacher aide was male, about 30 years of age, born in Turkey and had been in Australia seven years. He had been a student in his own country prior to emigrating, worked as a labourer in Australia, had commenced business studies funded by the N.E.A.T. scheme, but left that to become an aide because of financial pressures. He explained his motivation for taking the job (other than financial) as wanting to help Turkish people. He commenced his employment in third term, 1976. Funding was from the Supplementary Grants Program.

School B

This school had a very well articulated philosophy of education reflected in the carefully thought out programs and the team approach of the staff. A central tenet of the educational philosophy was that the school starts from where the child is when he or she enters the school. The programs of the school were developed in order to serve the needs of the children. In one sense then, children from non-English speaking backgrounds were not seen as special problems, but their needs are considered in programs and policies. For example, ethnic teacher aides were given first priority in the school's Supplementary Grants application for funds.

- Located in a northern suburb with a high density of Housing Commission accommodation.

- Consisted of an old red brick, two storey building with portables.

- Enrolment about 300, 50% of whom were of migrant background.

- Main minority ethnic groups were Greek and Italian, others were Macedonian, Lebanese, Spanish (from Latin America), Hungarian and Portuguese (from Brazil).

- Four migrant teachers and two ethnic teacher aides (one Greek- and one Italian-speaking) were employed.

- Both of the aides were married women, late 20's, one had children of her own in the school. The Greek-speaking aide was born in Greece, the Italian-speaking aide was born in Australia. Both had some secondary education and neither had been in the paid workforce prior to taking the aide job. The Greek-speaking aide had been employed since 1976; the other aide since late 1978. Both were interested in helping children of their own language background and found the job personally fulfilling. Neither was sure about whether the job was a career.

School C

Features of this school which made it interesting were (a) the number of programs and services, (b) the number of languages spoken by the ethnic teacher aides, (c) the glowing recommendation of the school given by an ethnic organization, which was published in one of the Melbourne daily newspapers - the 'school has the best bilingual and multicultural education program in Australia', and (d) the use of bilingual teachers in the school.

- Located in a light industrial north-western suburb which developed largely through the in-flow of post-war migrants who wanted to build their own homes and could afford the cheap land.
- School enrolment approximately 600, greater than 80% of migrant background.
- At least 18 ethnic groups represented in the school population; the three largest were Yugoslav (Macedonian), Greek and Italian; others included Egyptian, Sri Lankan, Indian, Ukrainian, Polish, German, Albanian, Romanian, Thai, and Turkish.
- Languages other than English spoken by teachers were Italian, Polish, Macedonian and Greek.
- School comprised a number of portable buildings.
- Four teacher aides and five migrant English teachers were employed. The aides comprised one clerical aide, one media aide and two ethnic teacher aides. The ethnic teacher aides were both married women in their late 30's. One ethnic teacher aide, Greek-born, had been in Australia 10 years and spoke Macedonian, Serbo-

Croatian, Greek, Hungarian and Bulgarian. She had been employed in the school since early 1978. The other ethnic teacher aide was Italian born, had been in Australia 23 years, spoke Italian and had been employed at the same time as the other aide as a result of Supplementary Grants funds. Both had completed secondary education, had worked virtually full-time prior to the aide job, and saw their present job in terms of a career.

School D

This school had the largest number of part-time ethnic teacher aides in the whole study. Other features of interest were the high enrolment, the range of ethnic groups represented, the central position in the curriculum occupied by the language development program and the extensive after-school program of activities such as arts and crafts run by the teacher aides.

- Located in a newly-developed outer western suburb, the school was surrounded by a mixture of Housing Commission flats and houses.

- Enrolment in excess of 700 with greater than 90% of migrant origin.

- Large ethnic groups included Maltese, Yugoslav, German, Italian, Dutch and Greek. Anglo-Australians were definitely in the minority.

- The school had five migrant English teachers and twenty teacher aides.

- The school comprised a number of large brick buildings.

- The teacher aides were all mothers who originally worked at the school in a voluntary capacity. With the assistance of funds from the Disadvantaged Schools Program, these helpers became teachers' aides, rostered for 2-3 hours per week and were paid. Many of the women had 'ethnic' backgrounds and it was not easy to designate some as ethnic teacher aides in contrast with general teacher aides. Because of the roster system, many of the aides were not present in the school when the research assistant visited.

2. How were ethnic teacher aides utilized and what problems were perceived by the professional staff and aides themselves?

Example:

- Ethnic teacher aides were considered part of a team effort to provide appropriate programs for the children in the school. The principal specifically mentioned that bilingual teachers were not necessary in the school because the ethnic teacher aides, having a broad spectrum of duties including communication in the ethnic language, were of more value.

- The aides carried out a similar range of tasks including:
  - classroom work (for example, hearing reading, assistance in mathematics or language programs, preparing bilingual materials)

  - clerical work (for example, typing, duplicating, binding books).

  - interpreting and translating (for example, at enrolment times, explaining function of camps and excursions to migrant parents, translating newsletters and notices).

  - additional duties (accompanying school excursions, running clubs for children such as photography and arts and crafts).

Example:

The aides carried out similar tasks based on their command of languages. In the application for a Supplementary Grant, the school described the job of the aides in the following categories:

1. Oral communication (for example, interpreting on parent-teacher evenings).
2. Written communication (for example, translating notices into 4 ethnic languages).
3. Accompanying school tours and excursions (and informing migrant parents about the purpose of such outings).
4. Community activities (for example, helping in the organization of cultural nights and special days at the school to which parents are invited and which raise funds for the school).

. Interview and observation in the school revealed that the ethnic teacher aides carried out other duties. Clerical duties were, for example, typing and duplicating of notices to go home to parents, typing of Supplementary Grants submissions and keeping of records such as accounts associated with Supplementary Grants. Direct student assistance included taking charge of small groups of students for conversation, preparing teaching materials such as stories in ethnic languages, interpreting and translating for students in the classroom.

Problems

Example:

Members of the school staff raised a number of problems which had affected or were affecting use of the ethnic teacher aides:

- Inadequate definition of the aide role early on led to confusion over 'teacher' and 'teacher aide' roles.
- With clarification of the aide role in line with guidelines set out by the Schools Commission (that aides should be identified with specific programs), the aide's work was perceived by teachers as more useful to the school, but the aide felt frustrated over the 'diminution' of status.
- Teachers recognized the value of a native speaker in the school, especially for large minority non-English speaking groups. However, they placed a high value on English competence for ethnic teacher aides and were highly critical of failure to meet their standards.
- The school faced new pressures with an influx of Vietnamese students. Priorities for funding of programs needed to be made. Teachers who did not have access to the ethnic teacher aides became disgruntled and began to raise the need for a resource person for the new group. This situation also engendered a more critical attitude towards the 'quality' of ethnic teacher aides' contribution to a school.

An ethnic teacher aide indicated problems in the utilization of such aides:

- Teachers were not trained to use bilingual personnel adequately.
- The conditions and salary for the ethnic teacher aide position were not commensurate with the importance of the job.
- Status was denied because aides were employed through a different authority than teachers, do not have strong union backing and are not encouraged to train to become teachers if they wish.
- Ethnic teacher aides should be able to put their major effort into tasks related to direct student assistance and public relations, rather than clerical and planning tasks.
- Competence in the ethnic language sets ethnic teacher aides apart from most teachers. Hence, such aides should be seen as equivalent to teachers.

Example:

Teachers indicated that they knew little about the total program in the school and the role of the teacher aides. Some appeared to be resentful that they did not have the services of a teacher aide. There was some suggestion that the co-ordination of a large group of aides could have been improved. There were indicators that some teachers appointed to the school were not in whole-hearted agreement with the multicultural philosophy being promoted in the school.

From the point of view of ethnic teacher aides, various types of problems were raised. While the aides saw their work as interesting and worthwhile, many of them put in many more hours of work than they were paid for. There was some feeling of resentment and a certain sense of exploitation not just for unpaid work, but because some teachers did not recognize their contribution. It was thought that some teachers were very conscious of their 'teacher-status' and did not encourage a professional relationship with teacher aides, although the aides may have carried out some of the same duties as teachers.

3. Overview

(a) Similarities among schools:

- Location - a definite segment of metropolitan Melbourne covering northern to western suburbs.

- Diversity of ethnic groups in school population.

- The presence of bilingual teachers and ethnic teacher aides (although recognition of their bilingualism varied) and migrant English teachers.

- The centrality of language development programs in the curriculum.

- The conscious effort to come to terms with the educational and social consequences of a multicultural society.

- Aides funded under Supplementary Grants scheme.

- Ethnic teacher aides involved mainly in three categories of tasks: clerical, direct student assistance and public relations.

- The general feeling among teachers, administrators, and some aides that the teacher aide job was one to be learned 'on-the-job'. Formal training might, in fact, detract from the contribution aides can make in a school.

- The boundary between teaching and non-teaching activities was defined and maintained in theory (and in policy - recall directives from the Victorian Education Department). In practice however, such a boundary is not at all easy to maintain and one suspects that it was not necessarily seen as a desirable thing anyway if programs and services for students of non-English backgrounds were to be effective.

- A moderately high to very high satisfaction level with the utilization of ethnic teacher aides apparent in all schools.

(b) Differences among schools:

- Size - schools ranged from less than 500 students to greater than 500 students. These differences provide some explanation of utilization of ethnic teacher aides.

- The largest minority ethnic group varied; for example, Turkish in one school, Maltese in another.

- In some situations, there was more than one ethnic group in significant numbers; in others, one group dominated with a whole range of other groups with only a few children.

- In some contexts, Vietnamese refugees were the latest group; in others, there were none.

- Most schools were experiencing fluctuations in the ethnic groups represented in their school, but the particular changes varied from school to school. However, specific ethnic group and numbers of ethnic students were not the only factors to be examined. The consequences of these changes in groups need also to be understood in terms of variables such as changing socio-economic status, religion and other cultural features, migration status. It was these sorts of issues which schools found difficult to come to terms with and hence to devise ways of adapting existing programs and services (including the utilization of ethnic teacher aides).

- Internal and external problems affected the multicultural strategies of schools. For some schools, the external problems (such as decrease in funding or changing conditions in their community) were more salient. For others, internal problems (such as tensions between teachers, between teachers and administrators, or between teachers and ethnic teacher aides) were perceived to be more important. Where all members of a school appeared to share a common philosophy and purpose and to work co-operatively (for example, team teaching), the least problems were reported.

(c) Comparison schools.

There is no intention to present the situations in the comparison schools Y and Z in detail. Suffice it to say that the two schools selected exhibited the similarities identified among the case-study schools. However, the significant difference was that they did not employ ethnic teacher aides.

Interview and observation in these schools seemed to suggest the following factors as crucial in the decision against ethnic teacher aides:

(i) The views of the principal which influence official school policy. For example, ethnic teacher aides are not necessary because

> 'there is ready access to interpreters'
> 'there are bilingual teachers on the staff'
> 'money for aides can be better used elsewhere'
> 'the local library caters for multilingual materials, we must concentrate on English'
> 'the school is the only access some children have to English'
> 'if we had teacher aides we would want them for the library and language programs and for clerical work'
> 'it is a ridiculous set up - the Victorian schools are great if you don't happen to be Australian - Australian children are deprived'.

(ii) Divisions in teacher opinion which mean that no strong thrust developed to alter present policy. For example, in one school the vice-principal and migrant teacher thought that an ethnic teacher aide was necessary to develop links with the one section of the community because it could not be covered by existing staff and there was little contact between these parents and the school. Other staff members did not share this view.

(iii) Existing personnel considered adequate and, hence, decreased pressure for change or innovation. For example, interpreters, bilingual teachers and migrant English teachers were available in both schools. One school favoured ethnic language maintenance by means of attendance at ethnic schools.

(iv) The pervasive assumption that as we live in an English speaking society, the major task of the primary school is to develop English language skills. Given that this assumption predominated over acceptance of assumptions associated with multiculturalism, priority was unlikely to be given to additional ethnic personnel _per se_ in the educational workforce or vis-à-vis the need for enrichment through materials such as reading schemes, books or activities such as excursions and camps. As all of these resources cost money, the ordering of priorities was inevitably a _political_ question. Schools themselves also raised matters of _values_. For example, given the heterogeneity of school populations to which group is special aid (such as employing of speaker of that group's language) given? Cultural complexities too bedevilled schools in their attempts to meet the needs of school students and the ethnic groups in the community from which they came. For example, how can a school best serve the needs of the Yugoslav community which bears within itself critical tensions and conflicts?

In essence, for some schools the employment and utilization of ethnic personnel at a para-professional level was seen as a solution to the issues and concerns identified above. For other schools, such a move represented a compounding of the problem.

High Schools

1. Why were the schools selected and what were their background features?

School F

The school was of interest because it was situated in an old-established inner suburb. It was a single-sex school and catered for a diverse ethnic enrolment. The school had been faced suddenly with an intake of Asian refugee students who spoke no English.

- Location was on a cramped site in an inner suburb surrounded by densely packed factories and terrace houses.
- Enrolment was about 360 with 65% migrant origin.
- Most dominant ethnic group Greek with Asian refugees as the most recent; approximately 25 different languages found in the student population.
- Old brick buildings, portable buildings and an annexe which was previously a private house.
- Four migrant teachers and three part-time ethnic teacher aides.
- The ethnic teacher aides, two married women and one married man, were all born overseas and had been in Australia between 4 and 9 years. All had full secondary education or better, and one was

a trained teacher. Their native languages included Serbian, Croatian, Spanish and Chinese. They did not see the aide job as a career either because of the uncertainty of the job or because the trained teacher wished to obtain a teaching post.

School G.

This school was one of the few schools situated in the eastern suburbs which was found to contain ethnic teacher aides. In strong contrast to the other case-study schools, the migrant sector of the school amounted to only 20%[9] although this was distributed over more than twenty ethnic groups. The major factors in the school's strong support for ethnic teacher aides were the importance placed on the work of the Migrant English Centre and the proximity to a migrant hostel resulting in the introduction to the school of many Asian refugees.

- Located in a prosperous middle-class area in the eastern suburbs of Melbourne, surrounded by comfortable homes, generally privately owned.

- Total school enrolment was about 800.

- Dutch, Arabic, Indonesian, German and Lithuanian were languages found amongst the staff.

- Spanish-speaking and Asian groups had come to the school in recent years.

- The school had an extensive extra-curricular program in which all students, Anglo-Australian and migrant, were encouraged to participate.

- The two ethnic teacher aides were part-time. One was a Vietnamese-speaking male who had been trained as a teacher, the other was a Chilean-born woman who spoke Spanish, French and Cambodian and had been educated to post-secondary (technical college level). She had completed an interpreter's course in Melbourne. Neither aide expected the present job to become a career either because of expected cuts in grant money or because of desire to become a permanent teacher again. Both of the aides had been in Australia about 4 years.

School H

This school was a classified disadvantaged school and had received grants of $30,000 in a year from Supplementary Grants. The school had, in addition, the services of a full-time nurse funded from Commonwealth sources. A highly organized Community Liaison Project was in operation and the ethnic liaison officer was attached to that Project. Substantial organization and philosophical restructuring had recently occurred in the school.

- Located on a crowded site close to a main arterial road in a north-western suburb - suffers noise and air pollution.

- Enrolment was about 800 with 50% of migrant origin.

- Largest ethnic groups were Greek and Italian, but about 20 other groups were also represented. Turkish and Vietnamese students were expected to start coming in significant numbers.

- Languages spoken by staff included Hungarian, Spanish, Italian, Czech, Hebrew, Indonesian, French, Dutch, Malay and Greek.

- There were two migrant teachers and one ethnic liaison officer.

- The ethnic liaison officer was a married woman in her late 30's, who had been in the school for 4 years. She was born in Egypt but had lived in Australia for 23 years. She spoke both Greek and Italian. She had completed one interpreter/translator course and was undertaking part-time University study. The community liaison position was perceived as a career.

2. How were ethnic teacher aides utilized and what problems were perceived by the professional staff and aides themselves?

Example:

There were many refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos attending the school. Because of their refugee status, they had special problems. Many of the students were either orphaned or had left their families behind. Therefore the ethnic teacher aides were invaluable in their capacity to work as liaison between the students and the general community. They worked closely with the social worker attached to the hostel, helped arrange accommodation and generally assisted in the 'settling-in' of these students.

The Migrant Centre acted in an autonomous way, separate from the main stream school curriculum. The staff in the Centre dealt exclusively with newly arrived migrants, teaching basic English for 1 year. After that the students moved into a special 'Migrant Form' where basic core subjects were taught at a reduced level. At the end of the second year these students were then assimilated into a normal classroom. The teacher aides were technically freelance, but the Migrant Centre and Remedial Department had first call on their services.

More specifically, the Vietnamese ethnic teacher aide acted as a counsellor for refugees. He also serviced two other schools in the area, a primary school and a technical school. As a trained teacher, he took Vietnamese students twice weekly for English and Vietnamese language classes. He spent $1^1/_2$ days a week in this school.

The other ethnic teacher aide's duties included: assisting with preparation of teaching materials, library assistance such as cataloguing; some one-to-one contact with problem readers; helping the teachers in group activities, with clerical work associated with room changes, transfer and admission forms and duplicating for staff. She also acted as liaison between student and staff, visited hostels and homes and conferred with social workers. She was used as an interpreter at parent teacher nights, and translated notes to be sent home.

Example:

The key to the utilization of the ethnic aide in this school were three generally-held views. These were firstly, that school and home (including community) problems could only be tackled using a team approach. Secondly, that the team should be composed of personnel with a range of specialized expertise. Thirdly, that an holistic approach to education in which the physical, intellectual and emotional needs of students and their families was a valid concern of the school.

Hence, the junior school was restructured vertically to provide closer contact between particular teachers and particular students, and to facilitate activity-based learning. This resulted in a number of sub-schools led by teams of teachers co-ordinated by a leader. An annexe was established to allow for the community school concept. An alternative H.S.C. program was initiated.

An example of another specialized team to provide counselling and social work in the school in students' homes and more generally in the community, consisted of some teachers, the school nurse, the careers counsellor, the pupil welfare co-ordinator and the ethnic liaison officer (or ethnic aide). Interpreters provided through the Education Department were utilized on the team when necessary. Other staff occasionally drawn on in the school were ethnic secretarial or laboratory personnel.

One particular program, the Community Liaison Project had the ethnic aide as its central focus. The aims of the Project were:

(i) To increase involvement of parents in the school, on Council and committees, in their relationships with staff, and in areas requiring voluntary assistance.

(ii) To provide interpreting and translation services to migrant families, so they have an equal chance of involvement.

(iii) To raise the status of migrant families in the school by holding social events oriented towards particular cultures.

(iv) To increase the efficiency of support services offered to students and their families with social, medical, financial and educational problems.

The tasks of the ethnic liaison officer were described by the school as follows:

> The Project has, in recent years, funded the employment of an aide who is fluent in English, Greek and Italian (our threemain linguistic groups), and is able to organize translation and interpretation services for the school. She is heavily involved in Team and senior school parent-teacher evenings each term, in planning less formal social events for specific nationalities to promote discussion and exchanges of views on topics such as careers, homework, discipline and so on, and she is actively involved in pupil welfare problems (attendances, illnesses etc.) where a knowledge of other languages or customs is relevant. In addition this year the aide has assisted at least one sub-school in the formulation of some work on inter-ethnic

studies, in accordance with our draft school policy which lists broad areas for curriculum emphasis. The aide has assisted the establishment of the multi-lingual talking books.

The ethnic aide also:

(i) Visits parents (especially migrant parents) informing them of the school's aims, pupil's achievements etc. linking up with other specialist staff at the school, e.g. migrant education teacher, social worker, careers advisor, subject teachers of the pupil.

(ii) Works for more parent participation on the school council.

(iii) Arranges translation and interpreting for school needs (circulars, staff-parent night, personal counselling).

(iv) Facilitates cultural interchange. Holding "ethnic days", e.g. Greek dancing, cooking etc., with parent involvement.

(v) Informs and helps staff to be aware of political etc. differences between migrant groups and therefore students, e.g. Greek-Turkish, Croatian-Slovene, etc.

(vi) Helps to arrange "work experience" for pupils.

(vii) Produces social community services pamphlets in ethnic languages, and helps social worker with migrant pupils' families.

The research assistant attended a career night for Greek students organized by the aide. Representatives from numerous employer groups spoke in Greek and answered parents' questions. The aide directed the entire meeting.

Problems.

Example:

Teachers commented that aides were of more value to the teachers than to the students. This was partly related to the fact that they were part-time and so their contribution in the classroom and in community liaison was necessarily constrained. Teachers also found it difficult to know when they were available at the school. Because of the diverse ethnic origins of the Asian refugees, there were both cultural and personal difficulties for the aide. There was concern that the language needs of some of the Asian students could not be met.

Teachers identified other problems for their school: At the start of 1979 two things occurred -

(i) We lost 1.4 of a migrant English teacher.

(ii) We gained a totally unexpected 15 refugee Asians who have no English whatsoever. These include two who are totally illiterate and one who has a learning disability.

Most of the children involved in Migrant English are not 'migrants' but are refugees who have very different sorts of problems. These areas of need are not being met:

- the needs of the two illiterate children
- four form 4 students urgently needing extra help in coping with their classes
- three form 5 Asian girls each with one year of English are taking normal form 5 courses and need extra language help. At present they get none
- team teaching in humanities subjects is required
- staff have inadequate time for preparation and correction to say nothing of the effects of almost continuous teaching upon morale, efficiency and mental strain.

Thus, with the school dependent on limited outside funds to employ ethnic teacher aides and on diminishing resources provided by the Education Department, there was a deal of anxiety expressed about the effectiveness of the school's programs and services. Aides themselves were worried about the limited tenure of their positions: The aide who had been a trained teacher expressed lack of satisfaction with the job because he wished to be a permanent teacher. It was felt that there was no opportunity for the aide position to be converted to a permanent one or for promotion of trained aides as teachers.

Example:

There was some sense that one group was receiving favoured treatment. The necessity to employ Spanish, Turkish and Italian teacher aides, even if they were on a part-time basis, was suggested. Classroom problems required a lot more specialized attention in the view of some teachers. Others indicated that they thought Migrant English and Remedial programs were understaffed and tended not to get such a high priority as the community-oriented program.

From the aide's point of view, a number of other issues emerged. The complex structure of the school made it difficult for the aide to communicate with all teachers. There were so many meetings held at so many different times. Aspects of the aide role had changed with changes in organization within the school. For example, the pupil welfare co-ordinator now undertook tasks which previously had been done by the aide and for which the aide had done the initial (and difficult) groundwork. In particular, with the reduction in home visiting, the aide felt that it was hard to build up close relationships with parents and students. The aide agreed with teachers that ethnic teacher aides for other language groups was a priority requirement for the school, but with uncertain funding, there was no guarantee that this would eventuate.

3. Overview

(a) Similarities among schools.

- Location - with one exception, the schools were situated in the same sector of the metropolitan area as the case-study primary schools.

- Diversity of ethnic groups in the school population as was noted in the primary schools.

- Presence of bilingual teachers, ethnic teacher aides, and migrant English teachers (as for primary schools) located within subject structures such as departments, specialized centres or programs (there were obvious differences here because of the nature of primary and secondary schools).

- Aides funded under Supplementary Grants Scheme (as for primary schools).

- Ethnic teacher aide tasks included those designated for primary aides as clerical, direct student assistance and public relations.

- As for primary aides, the boundary between teaching and non-teaching activities was permeable.

- A great deal of satisfaction expressed with ethnic teacher aides but the level of criticism probably higher than for primary aides.

(b) Differences among schools.

- As with primary schools, dominant ethnic groups, concentration of ethnic groups and pattern of inflow of ethnic groups into high schools varied from school to school. The consequences of these different patterns influenced the utilization of ethnic teacher aides.

- External problems such as possible decrease in funding appeared to be less salient than internal problems, particularly teacher-teacher and teacher-aide stresses which were often associated with the fragmented structure of the school. Such fragmentation had actual physical manifestations (for example, separate buildings) as well as more abstract features (for example, different educational aims).

- The consequences of the presence of refugee students in a school of otherwise very low migrant 'content' set apart one high school from the other case-study schools examined to this point.

- Questions of value, and hence the assumptions underlying the development of programs and services, were significant in shaping the particular adaptations made by each high school in the utilization of ethnic teacher aides. The usage of the term 'community liaison officer' or 'ethnic aide' in one school highlighted the complexity of the actual term 'ethnic teacher aide' and of the process of devising an appropriate label for ethnic education personnel.

(c) Comparison schools.

Again, the situations in the comparison schools W, X will not be treated in detail. The lack of ethnic teacher aides in schools similar in many other ways to the case-study schools was the focus of interest. The task was to attempt to infer why such aides were not employed.

Key factors influencing the decision not to employ ethnic teacher aides appeared to be:

1. The views of the principal (a) and the official school policy (b).

   For example,

   (a) 'the aides are not used as interpreters simply because the majority of staff are bilingual, including myself', 'the majority of students are Australian-born and are second or third generation migrants.'

   (b) . The language department provides a range of language learning opportunities, (the most popular languages being Italian and Greek).

   . There are Migrant English and Special English Departments in the school and a number of specific programs (Federally funded) such as literacy, remedial, mathematics, recreation and audio-visual, to which general teacher aides are attached.

- Regarding translated materials, we have adopted a new policy. On the advice of migrant parent school councillors and after discussion with students we are translating much less material. When the school wishes to communicate with parents the message is now printed in English only. Each student receives a copy in her Home Group Session which occurs during the first fifteen minutes of every day. The Home Group teacher leads discussion on the issue and offers answers to queries and gives directions where necessary. By using this process we have involved the student in the issue which of course must inevitably refer to her. Consequently we have removed the offence of the past in by-passing the student by directly sending notices to parents, we have recognized the respect and reliance migrant parents share with their daughters, and we have improved the responses of parents to our concerns. This year the parents of 230 girls (out of total 285) attended parent-teacher nights.

- The school, in recognising that its population is predominantly from non-English speaking families, seeks ways of incorporating multi-cultural elements into its overall program. The other significant component of our school's population is drawn from non-professional English speaking families.

2. Identified disadvantage which applied to students of Anglo- and non-Anglo Australian background alike leading to an emphasis on equal treatment for all.

For example, two particular programs were a Community Liaison Project and a Literacy Project. The former sought to make it possible for all students to gain 'medical and dental care in the face of institutional requirements and family difficulties'. In addition, it attempts to carry out realistic communication with 'a predominantly non-English-speaking parent body'. The latter addressed itself to 'the most obvious problem facing the school on educational front -- the need to eradicate illiteracy and to equip all students with the skills necessary to achieve employability and to participate in the maintenance of successful family life'.

3. Existing personnel considered adequate and hence, no concerted pressure for change.

   For example, interpreters, bilingual teachers, migrant English teachers and migrant parents were available in these schools. One of the schools had the services of four aides, three of whom were trained primary teachers. Their skills were used especially in the Migrant and Special English departments, mainly for clerical duties and preparation of materials for the classroom. Here the role of the aide was to relieve teachers of routine tasks to enable them to concentrate on teaching.

For high schools, the employment of ethnic teacher aides appeared to be governed by one of the following presses:

(a) The emergence of crisis results in policy based mainly on pragmatic consideration - for example, the in-flow of students with particular characteristics posing problems for which the school cannot readily find solutions within its own resources.

(b) The development of an holistic educational philosophy which gains general support: the underlying assumptions of which favour positive discrimination for ethnic groups other than Anglo-Australian.

(c) The development of an holistic philosophy which gains general support: the underlying assumptions of which lead to an emphasis on measures to raise the quality of education for all students.

The philosophies expressed derive from different perceptions and definitions of education in a multi-cultural or polyethnic society.

Technical Schools

1. Why were the schools selected and what were their background features?

School J

This school was of interest because it was located in a long-established inner suburb with, in post-war years, one dominant ethnic group other than Anglo-Australian. The school was a single-sex school and was facing the possibility of accepting female students. In recent years, the school enrolment had begun to diversify as many different ethnic groups moved into the area.

- The school site was ringed by factories and small semi-detached cottages.
- A number of different levels of technical programs were provided within the one building; for example, part-time evening or day full-time day, T.A.F.E., apprenticeship courses. At school level, the migrant content of the enrolment was greater than 50%.
- The main groups in the school population were Greek, Turkish, Yugoslav and Italian. Others included Maltese, Polish, Spanish, German, Mauritian, Chinese and Hungarian. The last group to arrive were Vietnamese.
- Arabic and Greek were spoken by some staff members. There were 4 Migrant English teachers and a Greek-speaking aide.

- The aide was a young woman who had lived in the area until recently. She had been born in Australia, being bilingual in Greek and English. She thought of the job as a career, but was also interested in studying for the H.S.C. and training to become a teacher.

School K.

This school was selected because there were a number of ethnic teacher aides including an Aboriginal aide who preferred to be called a cultural aide. While the school served first and second generation migrant students, the school saw its main problem as a remedial one. Language deficiencies were reported for Anglo- and migrant students.

- The school was large, well equipped and located in a north-western suburb.

- A survey of the school's migrant population (which comprised a little under one third of the 900+ enrolment[10]) revealed that the largest groups were Greek and Italian. Other groups included Egyptian, Lebanese, Maltese, Polish, Portuguese, Turkish and all the Yugoslav groups. The Arabic speakers were seen as a new problem for the school. There were more than 30 Aboriginal students.

- Languages spoken by teachers included Macedonian, Italian, Greek, Arabic: the ethnic aides spoke Serbo-Croatian, Italian, French, and Greek. There were three Migrant English teachers.

- The ethnic (and cultural) teacher aides were all women, two overseas born and the other born in Australia. One had had teacher training in her own country. Two of the aides saw their job as short-term because, with extra formal qualifications, they wanted to become teachers. The aides were Federally funded but from different sources. The ethnic teacher aides and the cultural aide were attached to quite different programs within the school.

2. How were ethnic teacher aides utilized and what problems were perceived by the professional staff and aides themselves?

Example:

One teacher aide speaks six languages, and was a qualified teacher in her own country before coming here. She cannot get her qualifications recognized so is undertaking a correspondence course in multi-cultural education for which she will receive a formal qualification to teach migrants. Her duties included teaching small groups, liaison with students/staff/parents/community, preparation of materials, interpreting and translating for notes to be sent home. She also helped students practise for job interviews.

Example:

The cultural aide carried out the same categories of tasks as ethnic teacher aides, that is, direct student assistance, clerical work and public relations. In addition, the planning part of her work was much more important than for ethnic teacher aides as the concept and role of Aboriginal teacher aides differs.

The Victorian Aboriginal Education Consultative Group and others see Aboriginal teacher aides as community educators. They have indicated that after training, the Aboriginal teacher aide (educator) should be responsible for developing and teaching Aboriginal cultural programs to Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students.

The Aboriginal aide in the present study, taught an Aboriginal cultural studies program[11] only to Aboriginal students. The aide indicated that in cultural studies, the main aim was to promote confidence and self-reliance in the students, to engender in them respect and pride in their past because 'Cultural Survival is Revival'. This slogan was one of the basic aims behind the course. The course aimed to get the students thinking about Aboriginal culture, lifestyles and philosophies. The course encouraged the students to think about themselves in a 'positive' way and to erase many of the negative stereotypes they have been conditioned to believe about themselves by the community at large, i.e. through schools (textbooks), people in general, and the mass media.

Problems

Example: Teacher view.

Teachers can accept students with different cultural backgrounds quite readily, but they are less at ease with bilingual/bicultural personnel, whether these are other teachers or teacher aides. Therefore, many teachers do not make the best use of their aides; perhaps the teachers need training not the aides.

Example: Principal view.

Aides are expected to do many jobs, e.g. to reinforce the student's first language, to help develop a strong foundation for the second, to help communication between school and home, student and school and so on, to relieve teachers of dreary clerical chores. Aides can't do all these things unless they have proper training.

Example: Teacher view.

The school has abnormal literacy problems to cope with and not enough staff. More Migrant English teachers and teacher aides are needed for the Special Project outlined below:

> The program is a comprehensive one and is designed to assist the language development of all students at the school with particular emphasis on the 40% of the students whose first language is other than English.
>
> It aims to assist the school to provide a more suitable total educational environment for all students, and in particular:
>
> 1. Full-time English language tuition for newcomers until they are able to cope with classes.
> 2. Staff working as 'team teachers' so that second level language development is facilitated with the least possible alienation - including working as a language-resource in classes other than English where practicable and desirable.
> 3. Staff offering interpretive/translating services and the facility to have these printed quickly.
> 4. To provide staff with a resource/consultative service whereby all students with language/socio-cultural difficulties can be discussed and new curricula devised to suit, e.g. withdrawal or class help can be given.
> 5. To advance the concept of multi-culturalism within the school community.

Example: Aide views.

(a) Degree of satisfaction with the job is reduced because of lack of security and low wage compared with heavy responsibilities.

(b) There are insufficient opportunities to be involved more in bilingual/bicultural education.

3. Overview.

Because of the small number of schools, comments on the comparison schools (U, V) are integrated with the sections similarities and differences where relevant.

(a) Similarities among schools

- Location: 1 case-study and 1 comparison school were to be found in each of two locations, inner suburb and north-western suburb. (These same areas were locations for some of the primary case-study schools).

- Diversity of ethnic groups in the school population (as for high and primary schools).

- The presence of bilingual and migrant English teachers in both types of school, and ethnic teacher aides in the case-study schools. As with high schools, the aides were attached to particular programs and/or departments (for example, Migrant English).

- With one exception, aides were funded under the Supplementary Grants Scheme (as for high and primary schools).

- Aides in technical schools (except for the cultural aide) carried out the same categories of tasks as high school aides and primary aides. Although one of the technical teachers commented that the ethnic teacher aides were used, like 'teachers' or 'acted like teachers' in one of the schools.

There were aides in the comparison schools but they were not used as ethnic or bilingual aides. In one school, the aide was engaged fully in clerical work such as preparing (that is, typing and duplicating) materials for classroom use and for the use of school administration. In the other school, the two teacher aides were attached to literacy and numeracy programs. The tasks they undertook included:

1. Production of school publications which involves considerable organisational effort and the preparation of written and graphic material.
2. Assistance in the group reading scheme - 12 hours per week.
3. Duplication and preparation of classroom and teaching materials - all programs.
4. Assistance with wall display - all programs.
5. Preparation of apparatus for student experiment and activity work.
6. Research of material for classroom use.
7. Preparation of audio/visual material.
8. Organisation of excursions.
9. Assisting students working on the Tutor Computer.

(b) Differences among schools

- Two of the schools (1 case-study and 1 comparison) had recently begun to receive refugee students. In neither case had the numbers yet reached a level when the schools perceived the need for special measures (e.g. the employment of an Asian teacher aide). This contrasts with the response of some of the high schools in the present study.

- The strongest concern for the technical schools (case-study and comparison) was for remediation of language and numeracy problems. For some schools, this concern and the concern for better community relations led to the employment of ethnic teacher aides, but in other schools it did not. Reasons for this difference were not easy to find. Some possible factors may be hinted at in the following data collected especially during interview:

  1. One principal said that he would prefer parents to be approached by teachers, not teacher aides.

  2. A teacher commented that teacher aides (especially bilingual aides) need adequate training if they are to be of use. They need a certificate of proficiency in their own language and in English.

  3. Some teachers suggested that funds could be better used elsewhere than for ethnic teacher aides.

- One revealing comment was that 'We are fortunate enough to have a number of bilingual teachers. We use these people who know the students and teachers. This causes much less friction - people understand each other as co-teachers and so there is harmony and organization within the system.'

- The preference for teachers was echoed in the statement: 'Aides are not required at all when teachers are available.' Another comment queried the appropriateness of ethnic aides in Australian schools.

- The issue of other facilities being available outside the school for ethnic students, for example, ethnic schools, other educational establishments teaching ethnic languages and culture was raised. The implication was that because of these facilities, technical schools need not disturb their 'traditional' programs and priorities.

- Teacher comment indicated also that the poor (Anglo) Australian students, many from single parent families, were a particular concern of the technical school. Therefore programs which benefited *all* students were favoured.

(c) Comparison schools

In terms of the factors militating against the employment of ethnic aides which were identified for primary and high comparison schools, what final observation can be made about the comparison schools?

- The principal's attitude in any school must, of course, have an effect on policy but the impression gained of the technical schools was that the general attitude held by principal and teachers was more likely to have the greatest impact. A section of a school, for example, the Migrant English department might advocate the use of ethnic teacher aides and might be able to obtain them. However, such a step would not necessarily affect a generally neutral or even negative attitude held by the principal and other teachers to such a move.

- There was satisfaction with existing personnel, for example, outside interpreters, bilingual teachers on the school staff or secretarial staff which lessened the thrust to acquire other types of staff such as ethnic teacher aides. Dissatisfaction tended to focus on the numbers of personnel and actual submissions (or mere criticizm) tended to favour the employment of more of the same type of staff (especially teachers) already in the school.

- The pervasive assumption that we live in an English-speaking society was certainly evident among technical school staff. More significantly, however, was the lack of comment, debate and developed argument in submissions, (for example, for Supplementary Grants funding) in the technical school as a contrast to the ferment in the primary schools and in some of the high schools.

In essence, it would seem that the concept of multiculturalism was not a high priority issue among the technical schools sampled. Pragmatic considerations rather than philosophical dilemmas shaped policy and action. A key factor in whether policy favoured the employment of ethnic teacher aides or not was the strength of the Migrant English Department vis-à-vis other departments in the school and its advocacy of such a proposal.

SUMMARY

The case-study method, in spite of its acknowledged limitations in the present study, has brought insights into the following areas:

1. Differential perceptions of the concept and role of ethnic teacher aides:

- between schools generally and, more specifically, types of schools (that is, between primary, high and technical schools),

- within schools (that is, between teachers and principals, teachers and teachers, teachers and aides),

- within particular groups (for example, between aides who are already trained teachers and 'untrained' aides).

2. The wide range of ideas to be found amongst principals, teachers and aides on issues including:

   - training for ethnic teacher aides
   - continuing need for ethnic teacher aides
   - the value of ethnic teacher aides.

3. Continuing controversies associated with the ethnic teacher aide issue

   - the use of ethnic teacher aides vs bilingual teachers
   - unions and ethnic teacher aides
   - definition and control of teaching vs non-teaching duties in the classroom
   - the establishment of priorities - ethnic teacher aide, ethnic community aide, ethnic aide as translator/interpreter
   - ethnic teacher aide as untrained helper or trained para-professional[12]
   - the question of whether teachers are trained to work effectively with ethnic teacher aides

- political vs pedagogical concerns and philosophical vs pragmatic tensions in the debate over ethnic personnel in the educational workforce and of education in a 'multicultural' society[13].

NOTES and REFERENCES

1. G.D. Mitchell (ed.), A New Dictionary of Sociology. London & Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979, p. 24.

2. For a discussion of these problems, see, for example, J. Katzer, K. Cook and W. Crouch, Evaluating Information. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1978, pp. 20-30.

3. See, Schools Commission, Report for the Triennium 1976-1978. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1975, Section Four: The Programs.

4. Concept refers here to the general usage as notion or idea and as a way of defining the members of a given class (of educational workers) or as the name for the class itself (although, as has been discussed in Chapter III, the class has not existed officially until very recently).

5. The term role is being used in the sense of the expected behaviour associated with a position. It has been necessary to indicate the perceptions of different groups in the school situations of the role of ethnic teacher aides because of the apparent ambiguity over the concept of ethnic teacher aides. Concept and role of ethnic teacher aide differs between teachers, principals and aides themselves. There are also, of course, differences over concept and role between individuals in any of these groups.

6. These views derive from questionnaire and interview data. The distinctions between generalized and specific helper and ethnic aide and ethnic teacher aide are a useful way of describing complex situations, but, in reality, are not as clear-cut as these lists suggest. However, it did seem to us that the notion of generalized helper was being replaced by the idea of an aide attached to very specific programs, perhaps due to the increased difficulty in obtaining funds, but also perhaps related to greater experience with aides and consequent clarification of concept and/or role. It was necessary to indicate a certain ambiguity in the use of ethnic aide or teacher aide because we found situations where aides had language and cultural backgrounds other than Anglo-Australian, but were not officially utilizing them in the school situation.

7. Discrepancies were noted between aide views expressed in the questionnaire and in interviews. Where interviews were held between the research assistant and the ethnic teacher aide in private, aides were often critical of their work situation, for example, the role expectations of teachers or low salaries, whereas if there were staff members present or if the questionnaires were likely to be seen by other staff or the principal, views were not as critical.

8. To preserve confidentiality, schools are identified by letters only:

Case-study primary schools: A, B, C, D.
Comparison primary schools: Y, Z.

Case-study high schools: F, G, H.
Comparison high schools: W, X.

Case-study technical schools: J, K.
Comparison technical schools: U, V.

An amount of editing has been done to maintain the anonymity of the personnel in schools, especially the ethnic teacher aides. For example, some details have been omitted and other data have been reported only generally. While modifications invariably reduce the overall depth of each case-study, enough is presented to indicate the complexities of the situations in which administrators, teachers, ethnic teacher aides and, of course, students have to work in contemporary Melbourne state schools.

9. This school was an exception to the 50% and greater criterion for selecting case-study school as described in Chapter II.

10. As for 9 above.

11. For more detail, see J. Johnson, My Work as an Aboriginal Teacher-Aide. Polycom, 26 October 1980, pp. 19-22.

12. For one discussion of this issue, see D. Whitton, Mama's Place Need Not Be Exclusively in the Kitchen. Polycom, 18, 1978, pp. 11-13.

13. Some of the explicit and implicit issues in this area are explored by J.J. Smolicz in, Shared Values and Cultural Diversity. Polycom. 26, 1980, pp. 2-5. These are the ideas which do not receive sufficient attention in many schools.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Summary of major findings

1. There is no federal or state policy on ethnic teacher aides nor is there any coherent overview of the concept and role of ethnic teacher aides. Individuals and organizations of all types and at all levels have very little knowledge of ethnic teacher aides.

2. The funding of ethnic teacher aides was an early Schools Commission initiative within the context of programs to overcome educational 'disadvantage' and to make provision for multicultural education.

3. The situation regarding ethnic teacher aides is fluid and unclear. Responses tend to be *ad hoc*, limited and unco-ordinated.

4. The idea of ethnic teacher aides is seen to be 'a good thing'.

5. Most ethnic teacher aides are female, married, overseas-born, have lived in Australia for at least 11 years, have been educated to secondary level or higher, are not union members. The 'mum' stereotype of ethnic teacher aides is not all that far from the truth.

6. Ethnic teacher aides are expected to fulfill a large number of roles and to undertake a wide variety of tasks. These roles and tasks include clerical duties, direct student assistance individually or in small groups, community liaison work and translating and interpreting.

7. The closer these roles come to the teaching role, the greater is the likelihood of dissonance and conflict between aide and teacher.

8. The teachers and principals prefer ethnic teacher aides to undertake clerical and public relations jobs, whilst the aides themselves prefer public relations jobs and direct student assistance, with clerical work being the least preferred task.

9. Different levels of schooling have different perceptions of the prime functions of ethnic teacher aides. At the primary school level, ethnic teacher aides are seen mainly as helping the development of children. At the secondary school level, ethnic teacher aides are seen mainly as managing and containing the 'ethnic problem'.

10. There is an extremely strong emphasis on ethnic teacher aides as agents of community attitude change.

11. Ethnic teacher aides are frequently perceived as helping to change community attitudes towards multiculturalism. This is a long-term ambition. On the other hand, tensions arise because a number of these people see ethnic teacher aides as purely a short-term phenomenon. There is no problem for that majority which sees the need for ethnic teacher aides as continuing indefinitely.

12. Ethnic teacher aides are generally seen as operating under exploitative rates of pay and conditions of work.

13. Different views are expressed about the respective roles of ethnic teacher aides and bilingual teachers. The majority see the roles of ethnic teacher aides and bilingual teachers as supplementing each other. There is a minority view, perhaps related to the employment situation, that teachers should replace teacher aides.

14. There is some ambivalence in the attitudes of teachers and teachers' organizations towards ethnic teacher aides. One outcome of this ambivalence is the fact that ethnic teacher aides generally do not belong to teacher unions but have turned instead to the Miscellaneous Workers' Union.

15. Public servants may well be genuine in their concern for overcoming ethnic disadvantage, yet too often see solutions to ethnic disadvantage in the narrow sense of imposed packaged solutions and in purely financial terms.

Implications

1. The perceptions by aides and others of poor pay and conditions for the ethnic teacher aide position has implications for recruitment. The profile of the 'typical' ethnic teacher aide has been drawn. Any substantial change in policy concerning ethnic teacher aides based on evolution in their concept and role may be difficult to implement because of resistance among aides in the present system and failure to attract other personnel who would challenge the sterotype.

2. The wide dispersion of language and cultural groups throughout Melbourne means that schools do not have an easy task in determining priorities for staff in line with their ethnic mix. Hence, schools may need to consider more seriously the potential and consequences of staff-sharing in a particular area.

3. The study indicated differential and overlapping uses of ethnic teacher aides, bilingual teachers and interpreters. It would seem that (a) the concept and role of each of these resource persons has not yet been adequately defined, (b) these personnel

are not necessarily available in numbers commensurate with expressed needs, (c) the idea of a team or taskforce comprised of these types of personnel has not been fully explored. Modifications to accommodate the deficiencies implicit in the three aspects identified above would entail the development of new policies.

4. Depending on the definitions of bilingual teacher and ethnic teacher aide, there would seem to be a need for specific programs in which these personnel might most fruitfully be employed. The notion of ethnic teacher aides or bilingual teachers as merely a 'backup' infers that these positions are in some way peripheral to the mainstream personnel and 'life' of Australian schools.

5. Given the history of education in Australia, and especially in Victoria since World War II, it would seem that if ethnic teacher aides are to be perceived as paraprofessionals, then matters of salary and conditions, peer identification and recognition by education professionals (especially with respect to specification of programs) must receive detailed scrutiny. One of the traditional ways that systematic scrutiny can be maintained (or attained) is through unionization. Thus, it can be expected that greater unionization of ethnic teacher aides is a possibility in the foreseeable future.

6. Whilst it must be conceded that a generally-agreed public conception of multiculturalism has not been achieved in Australia, this is not to be seen as some unattainable utopia. It is essential that schools and other elements of the educational bureaucracy continue to think through the meaning of Australian multiculturalism and its educational consequences, otherwise

ethnic educational personnel such as ethnic teacher aides will not become an integral part of the education system and, by implication, curricula purporting to serve a 'multicultural' purpose will tend to rhetoric rather than reality.

7. Ethnic teacher aide concern has raised the matter of training for teachers and administrators in the best use of aides. In addition, the matter of training of aides themselves has received quite a deal of support in this study. To realize each of these aims will entail the exploitation of a diversity of resources (at school and regional level and within specific organizations such as state colleges). A coherent policy on training is unlikely without serious and exhaustive exploration, and thus the development of policy on, the idea of differentiated staffing in education.

8. Tensions have appeared in the present system of provision of ethnic teacher aides for schools. Such tensions have many sources. Two particular loci are: (1) differences amongst schools -- for example, person-centred views in many primary schools versus system-centred views in a majority of post-primary schools and (2) changing emphases in agencies beyond schools -- for example, the Schools Commission which appears to be moving from a needs-based policy to a numbers or population-based policy in the funding of some of its programs. Policies in respect of ethnic teacher aides cannot gain coherence and force whilst they must contend with inertia brought on by such tensions.

9. An emphasis on the community liaison facet of the ethnic teacher aide role implies that schools must be aware of their

local ethnic organizations and their potential expertise. Schools need to consult with these organizations. Perhaps one of the more direct ways of achieving heightened communication is positive encouragement of ethnic participation in school councils.

10. Supplementary Grants funding with respect to ethnic teacher aides is designed to be short-term. One implication of such a policy, which undoubtedly has at the same time the aim of achieving flexibility, is that a paradox is created. On the one hand, we have professional and paraprofessional (aide) opinion generally favouring ethnic teacher aides as 'a good thing', as serving long-term problems in education, as agents of community attitude change (the process of attitude change itself however, being a slow and lengthy one), on the other, we have political and bureaucratic masters providing support only on a somewhat ad hoc and limited basis. The implication that control or management has a higher priority than the full acknowledgement of multiculturalism is not hard to draw.

11. Complexities thrown up by this research imply that it is only through this sort of micro-research that the broad rhetoric of multiculturalism and broad statements of faith about multiculturalism can be broken down and understood and that the implications of such a policy and faith can be grasped and realised.

Recommendations

1. Ethnic teacher aides should become much more an integral part of the school and also should constitute part of a comprehensive program of language and multicultural education in the school(s)

in which they are employed. No longer should they be used in an *ad hoc* and individual manner.

2. Ethnic teacher aides need much more care and support from the other school staff, ranging from encouraging a feeling of 'belonging' to being involved in comprehensive school programs to which they have been properly introduced and for which they are properly qualified.

3. The allocation of funds for ethnic teacher aides should be part of a 'needs-based' policy, not simply an allocation according to school size, as one way of ensuring continuity and coherence of programs and staffing.

4. The responsibility of funding for ethnic teacher aides should be worked-out between the Commonwealth and the States, to ensure clarity and to avoid the present confusion and uncertainty over funding.

5. Funding for ethnic teacher aides should be guaranteed at the present level, with allowance for increases due to inflation, for a period of three years. Either the Commonwealth or the States should take responsibility for this, thereby eliminating the current staff insecurity and giving time for the schools and aides to construct coherent programs for the use of ethnic teacher aides in particular schools.

6. At the end of that triennium, a thorough evaluation of the ethnic teacher aides scheme should be undertaken at the Federal or State level and involving relevant parties both in education and within the ethnic and community organizations concerned.

7. A body or individual within the Victorian Education Department should be given formal responsibility for monitoring the ethnic teacher aides scheme within Victoria. A suitable body might be Ethnic Education within the Special Services Division of the Department. Employment would remain in the hands of the schools. The body would be responsible for collecting information on ethnic teacher aides, for ensuring thst schools received that information and for clarifying guidelines for the tasks of ethnic teacher aides.

8. Training for ethnic teacher aides should be made more formal and effective. Training cannot be left entirely in the hands of individual teachers. Equally, extended formal training of 1 or 2 years in a College cannot be justified for ethnic teacher aides, whether on a pre-service or on an in-service basis. There should be a short and intensive pre-service course run by the Victorian Education Department to instruct ethnic teacher aides in those matters which extend beyond the boundaries of any one school (e.g. use of audio-visual equipment, excursion organization, legal position of aides). After ethnic teacher aides have been appointed and begun work, each school should run a formalized in-service course on matters peculiar to that school (e.g. local associations, community contacts, library use). The actual teachers involved with the aides should run these courses of 1 or 2 hours per week.

9. Selection and training of ethnic teacher aides must lead to a clearer notion of differentiated staffing within the schools, a clearer notion of 'who does what'.

10. Particular care must be exercised in the use of ethnic teacher aides in refugee situations in Australia. Ethnic teacher aides who are qualified teachers in their country of origin frequently experience frustration and disappointment as aides. Given the urgency of refugee situations, it may be that these people should be given special opportunities to learn English and to become fully-fledged bilingual teachers. 'Head of queue' status can be warranted in these cases.

11. If ethnicity is to continue to be stipulated as one essential qualification for a job as an ethnic teacher aide, then that ethnicity must be used in the job, whether in terms of language skills or in terms of broader cultural teachings.

12. The use of ethnic teacher aides must be supplemented by the use of bilingual teachers: the former must not be used as an excuse for not employing the latter. Furthermore, interpreters must be employed as a separate category. Interpreting is a highly skilled job, skills which ethnic teacher aides do not necessarily have simply because they are bilingual and bicultural. Ethnic teacher aides generally should be used only for emergency interpreting, with interpreting not being seen as the central task in their job.

13. Community liaison work between school and community must be seen as a most important part of the ethnic teacher aide's job. However, this must be essentially a contact job (e.g. helping parents to find the appropriate social welfare agency, explaining why excursions are useful and so on), not expecting the aides themselves to perform these multifarious welfare-type tasks. Social work (for example) is a skilled professional job and not one to be undertaken by unqualified ethnic teacher aides.

14. Schools must see the community liaison function of ethnic teacher aides as being much more a two-way process. Not only must the school be explained to the community, but the community must be explained to the school.

15. Ethnic teacher aides should be shared between schools in particular areas, partly to meet financial limitations and partly to help schools meet the situation wherein they are faced with a range of ethnic backgrounds amongst the children and may have difficulty in selecting one single ethnic teacher aide of a specific ethnic origin.

16. Ethnic community associations should be consulted more in the planning and choice of ethnic teacher aides. Selection must remain in the hands of School Councils, but the knowledge and experience of the ethnic communities must not be ignored.

APPENDIX 1

ADMINISTRATIVE MATERIALS

Initial letter to Principals

Follow-up letter to Principals for case-studies

Thank you letter to Principals

Initial letter to representatives of organizations

Summary of Project

Procedure for research assistants

- school-based phase and case-study checklist

La Trobe University

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION TELEPHONE 478 3122

The Principal,

Dear Principal,

We are writing to invite your co-operation in a research project entitled 'A Socio-Political Study of the Concept and Role of Ethnic/Bilingual Teacher Aides in Victorian State Schools'. Our study is funded throughout 1978-1979 by the Federal Educational Research and Development Committee and has been recognized by,and received assistance from,the Division of Special Education (Ethnic Services) of the Victorian Education Department. It is also being supported by the La Trobe University School of Education.

Your school is of particular interest to our study. The survey conducted by Ethnic Services in October 1978 indicated that a significant percentage of your enrolment consists of children with a non-English speaking background, but that you do not employ ethnic/bilingual teacher aides. That is, aides with expertise in at least one community language other than English and who are employed solely or primarily to use that and related skills. Of course, you may be using aides in that role without designating them as such in your survey return to Ethnic Services. If that is the case we would be most pleased to receive that information and to have an opportunity to discuss it with you.

If the situation sketched above does reflect your school, what are we asking of you? We would like one of our research assistants, either Mrs Fleur Spitzer or Mrs Ros Wright, to visit your school on two occasions for the following purposes:

(1) To obtain information relevant to the concept and role of the ethnic aide by means of a questionnaire.

(2) To conduct an interview with you as principal (approximately ½ hour).

(3) To gather information from a small sample of teachers associated with migrant education work in your school (½-3/4 hours).

It is difficult to explain fully in a letter what our study is all about. No doubt you have questions already and may well be concerned about the extent of your commitment! Let us assure you now that we seek only your co-operation and a small amount of your time and that all results of our work naturally would be freely available to any school that so required them.

.../2

One of our research assistants will phone you a few days after you have received this letter. This will enable you to ask further questions and, hopefully, to set a time convenient for the research assistant to visit your school. Both of us would be pleased to answer any of your queries. The La Trobe University phone number is 478 3122 and the switchboard will then transfer your call to the School of Education. Please leave a message if we are not available when you call.

We feel sure that you would agree with us that the area of migrant education is a most important one and that the knowledge gained from our study should be of practical value to schools, the Department of Education and possibly other government agencies.

We look forward to your co-operation and thank you in anticipation.

Yours sincerely,

DR L. FOSTER & D. D. STOCKLEY

La Trobe University

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION TELEPHONE 478 3122

The Principal,

Dear Principal,

We are most grateful for the assistance you have given to our research project on ethnic/bilingual aides. Your school has a number of distinctive features which are of great interest to us and has been selected as one of the case-study schools for our project.

We are now asking if you would allow our research assistant to make another follow-up visit (of approximately a day) to your school.

The purpose of this visit would be:

(1) To talk informally with yourself, staff members and the aide to clarify any points from the questionnaires.

(2) To observe the activities of the aide.

(3) To have the opportunity to talk informally with some of the students who receive help from the aide.

(4) To explore the possibility with you of obtaining some parent opinion on the concept and role of ethnic/bilingual aides.

We are looking forward to further contact with you and your school and hope that your response to our request will be positive. Mrs Wright or Mrs Tants will contact you by phone shortly after you receive this letter.

Yours sincerely,

Dr L. Foster & Dr D. Stockley

BUNDOORA / VICTORIA / AUSTRALIA 3083. TELEGRAMS AND CABLES: LATROBE MELBOURNE

La Trobe University

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION TELEPHONE 478 3122

The Principal,

Dear Principal,

We would like to express our sincere appreciation to you and to members of your staff for the help you have given us on the project concerning the concept and role of ethnic/bilingual aides. The report of the project, to be completed some time in 1980, will be sent to the funding agency, E.R.D.C., a Federal organisation. You may be interested to see the report. If so, could you fill in the tear-off slip and return it to us.

Again, we thank you for your co-operation.

Yours sincerely,

Dr L. Foster and Dr D. Stockley

I would like to have a copy of the Ethnic Aide Report.

Signature ....

School ....

La Trobe University

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION TELEPHONE 478 3122

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF
TEACHING AND HUMAN INTERACTION

Dear

Dr. David Stockley and I have been awarded a grant from the Education Research and Development Committee of the Australian Government to undertake a research study entitled 'A Socio-Political Study of the Concept and Role of Ethnic/Bilingual Aides in Victorian State Schools.' A brief description of the purpose and potential value of the project is enclosed for your information.

We would very much appreciate your assistance in this study because of the significant position occupied by your organization in relation to the Victorian educational system. Hence we would be delighted if we could arrange an interview with you, or other representative, to discuss the project as it particularly affects your organization; it is anticipated that any such interview would take about 30 minutes.

Our Research Assistant, Mrs Fleur Spitzer, will be contacting you within the next few days to arrange an appointment at a time convenient to yourself. If you have any preliminary queries, please do not hesitate to contact us direct.

We look forward to your participation in the project and wish to thank you in anticipation.

Yours sincerely,

Lois Foster

L E Foster Dr. L.E. Foster
D M Stockley Dr. D.M. Stockley

BUNDOORA / VICTORIA / AUSTRALIA 3083. TELEGRAMS AND CABLES: LATROBE MELBOURNE

LA TROBE UNIVERSITY
BUNDOORA, [illegible] 3083

TITLE: "A Socio-Political Study of the Concept and Role of Ethnic Teacher Aides in Victorian State Schools".

RESEARCHERS: Dr. L.E. Foster
Dr. D.M. Stockley

FINANCED BY: Education Research and Development Committee.

AIMS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROJECT

Centred on a detailed case-study of a recent development in Australian education, the true value of the project lies less in the analysis of the role of Victorian ethnic teacher aides per se and more in the many vitally important macro-considerations upon which it sheds light. Major ramifications include the fact that, in practical terms, little is yet known of the initiation and diffusion of innovations in Australia, whilst the potential for unionisation of (ethnic) teacher aides raises complex questions about the boundaries between "teaching" and "non-teaching" assistance - questions which are immediately relevant in a time of widely-predicted over-supply of teachers. Furthermore, current embryonic disputes over the functions, salaries and qualifications of migrant teacher aides is a microcosm of a wider doubt over the responsiveness of Australian education to the realities of a multicultural society. In turn, all of the above issues arousing concern at the community level are related to the present debate over educational accountability in Australia, and emphasise the need for systematic research, along the lines we present in this project, to monitor changes in education.

In more precise terms, the project has two closely related aims:

(i) To study the concept of ethnic teacher aides, the policy-making processes involved in the implementation and dissemination of the concept and the problems of accountability, authority and demarcation associated with the innovation in Victorian schools.

(ii) To examine the role of ethnic teacher aides by means of (a) comparing actual and perceived functions of aides, using aides themselves as respondents, (b) obtaining the perceptions of interested groups e.g. Department officials, teacher unions, parent and ethnic associations, of the functions of aides and (c) making comparisons between (a) and (b) and within (a) and (b). Analysis of these comparisons is designed to look for possible differences within and among groups and thus, to aid description and explanation of the current complex situation.

In summary, the project is breaking new ground with respect to the area covered, the theoretical interest of the study which entails an historical-sociology of knowledge framework for analysis, and the methodology utilizing a range of data-gathering instruments and techniques. As well, the project bears very strongly on issues of current practical importance within the broader Australian education context.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

LA TROBE UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

BILINGUAL AIDE STUDY

PROCEDURE FOR SCHOOL-BASED RESEARCH PHASE

SCHOOLS WITH AIDES:

1. Write to all schools with aides.
   Follow-up phone call.
   Sort out how many schools will co-operate and set up appointments.

2. Liaison visit: with schools

   - meet Principal
   - explain project further
   - organise second visit
   - select teachers to be used
   - find out aide's name
   - ask about informal talk with students
   - meet all informants
   - distribute questionnaires, explain them and indicate you will follow up with a short interview on .... (give date and arrange time).

3. Second visit: with schools

   - collect questionnaires, have brief interview with principal, teachers, aide, students to try to fill in any gaps on questionnaires and to thank them for their co-operation.
   - try to observe aide in action
   - decide whether the school should be taken as a case-study school - discuss with principal - if he/she agrees - arrange for succeeding visits.

4. Case study visits: with schools

   - observation - do notes on this
   - collect information on programs and services in school to support the aide program
   - talk informally with as many people as possible - try to find out people's reactions to the aide i.e. his/her functions, whether they think it is a good idea or whether the same assistance could be done another way, any antagonism towards program. (Make sure you speak with teachers in close contact with the aide and those who appear to have little contact)

5. Follow-up thank you letter to schools and find out whether they would like some indication of results.

SCHOOLS WITHOUT AIDES

1. Write to selected comparison schools.
   Follow-up phone call.
   Sort out how many schools will co-operate and set up appointments (persist until we have the number we need).

2. Liaison visit: with schools.

   - interview principal
   - explain project further
   - select teachers to be used
   - ask about informal talk with students
   - meet all informants
   - distribute questionnaires
   - explain them and indicate that you will follow up with a short interview on .... (give date and arrange time).

   - find out services and programs in schools for the migrant students.

3. Second visit: with schools

   - collect questionnaires
   - have brief interview with principal, teachers and students to try to fill in any gaps on questionnaires and to thank them for their co-operation.

   - find out if they would like some indication of results
   - follow up thank-you letter.

N.B.

- Familiarize yourself thoroughly with questionnaires and open-ended questions for students and information on schools gained from Ethnic Services Survey.

- Be able to explain nature of project, that it is funded from Canberra, supported by the University, Ethnic Services section of the Victorian Department of Education and by the various Divisions and Regional Offices of the Department.

- Check whether people in schools would allow you to use a tape-recorder if you thought it would be useful.

- Write up impressions, observations, informal comments, etc. as soon after being in the school situation as possible - talk over your comments with fellow research assistant.

- In deciding which would be appropriate schools for case-study follow up: look for bilingual programs, conscious use of ethnic aides, actual jobs performed by aides, how aides were employed and why (philosophy of school supportive of multiculturalism?), other interesting services offered (e.g. to assist migrant parents).

- Keep an accurate record of travel (i.e. actual KMS covered) dates and times of visits, costs for paper to write notes etc., phone calls, (these latter charges we will convert to time for re-payment but travel is claimed separately).

CASE-STUDY CHECKLIST

1. Read over questionnaires received - do you need to ask some questions again to obtain "more complete" answers or just to ask if there is anything further people want to say?

2. Read over your report - do you wish to confirm anything there or add to it?

3. See if a number of children could write their answers on the sheet we have prepared for them.

4. Any details of the aide(s)' work which doesn't seem to "square" with what they've said on the sheet? - also, try to get as full answers as possible - on the training issue - whether or not? when? what type? if they would like to teach? how they could see their job improved? union activity - their involvement response to it? If they intend to stay in this work?

5. Try to get an overall impression of the extent to which the school acknowledges the multicultural society, e.g. programmes, school council emphasis, extent of parent involvement etc., and how the school sees future developments in multicultural education.

6. Some general information on school size (staff: students), quality of buildings, amount of equipment, traditional or other curriculum, atmosphere of school - happy, co-operative, depressed, full of conflict...?

7. If they have any other handouts on relevant matters, which you haven't already been given, see if they will let you have them.

8. Could you explore with principal/deputy or migrant teacher, any way by which we could get (even the most limited) some comment from parents on concept and role of aides in the school (may be there might be someone in the tuckshop (or in the office etc.) We would just want to ask a few questions like:

   (a) Do you think ethnic aides serve a useful purpose in this school?

   (b) Have they helped you or your children personally? How?

   (c) Do you think they should be trained for their duties?

   (d) Would you rather have bilingual teachers?

   (e) Anything you would like to say?

APPENDIX 2

Principal Questionnaire

- Part A
- Part B (i) Schools with ethnic teacher aides
  (ii) Schools without ethnic teacher aides

Teacher Questionnaire

Teacher Aide Questionnaire

Interview Schedule

- Political Figures
- Department of Education Officials
- Representatives of Unions, Parents' and Ethnic Associations

LA TROBE UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

BILINGUAL AIDE STUDY

PRINCIPAL QUESTIONNAIRE

In Part A, we would like to gain a little background information about you and then, in Part B, to ask you some questions about bilingual/ethnic teacher aides.

PART A.

1. Type of school

Girls' High ....
Boys' High ....
Coed High ....
Boys' Tech ....
Coed Tech ....
Primary ....

2. Male .... Female ....

3. How long have you been teaching

5-10 years ....
11-15 years ....
16-20 years ....
More than 20 years ....

4. How long have you been principal of this school? .... years

PART B.

1. What was the year of appointment of the bilingual aide at your school? ....

2. How was the aide recruited?

Advertisement ....

Through parents' organisation ....

Note sent home with pupils ....

Circular to local organisations ....

Request to teachers ....

Other (specify) ....

....

....

3. Were you involved in any way in the initial policy or decision to employ bilingual aides in your school or elsewhere? YES .... NO .... If YES, please explain briefly.

....

....

....

4. To your knowledge, has the Principals' Association discussed the question of bilingual aides? YES .... NOT SURE .... NO ....

Can you give any details?

....

....

5. To your knowledge, has the Principals' Association a policy on bilingual aides? YES .... NOT SURE .... NO ....

Can you give any details?

....

....

6. How is your bilingual aide funded:

Ed. Dept. ....

Schools Commission ....

School Funds ....

Other ....

7. What control has the school over the conditions and term of the aide's employment?

Little ....
Some ....
None ....

8. Do you see a continuing need for bilingual aides in some Victorian schools?

YES ....
NOT SURE.........
NO ....

If YES, for how long?

5 years ....
10 years ....
Indefinitely ....

9. Is there likely to be a continuing need for bilingual aide in your school?

YES ....
NOT SURE ....
NO ....

If YES, for how long?

5 years ....
10 years ....
Indefinitely ....

10. Do you think bilingual aides would be better replaced by bilingual teachers?

YES ....
NOT SURE ....
NO ....

Why?

....

....

11. Do you think bilingual aides should be supplemented by more widespread use of bilingual teachers?

YES ....
NOT SURE ....
NO ....

Why?

....

....

12. Do you think bilingual aides should receive training before or after they are employed?

Before	After
YES	YES ....
NO	NO ....
Not Sure.......	Not Sure.......

13. Do you have ideas on what the training should be?

YES ....

NO ....

e.g. Length of training ....

....

Where to be trained....................

....

Qualifications ....

....

Courses at night ....

....

Courses 'on the job'....................

....

Taken out of schools for one year for for training ....

....

14. Do you think bilingual aides should be given the opportunity to train to move into teaching positions eventually?

YES ....

NOT SURE.........

NO ....

If YES, what do you think is a satisfactory period of service prior to training?

....

....

15. Would you say that the children in your school are benefitting from the employment of a bilingual aide?

YES ....

NOT SURE.........

NO ....

If YES, indicate by a tick whether the following benefits apply:

e.g.Helpful at junior level ....

Provide emotional security ....

Help students' language ....

Help students to participate more fully at school ....

All of the above ....

Other (specify) ....

....

....

16. How would you describe the job of the bilingual aide? ....

....

....

....

....

17. Do you think the bilingual aide in your school is carrying out this job?

YES ....

NOT SURE ....

NO ....

Any comment? ....

....

....

....

18. Do you agree/disagree with the following statements which may explain problems experienced in the employment of bilingual aides?

	AGREE	DISAGREE
1. Funds better used elsewhere	....	....
2. Teachers without aides become resentful	....	....
3. Aides themselves experience frustration in their jobs	....	....
4. Aides are not efficient	....	....
5. Parents object	....	....
6. Students object	....	....
7. Bilingual aides are not appropriate in Australian schools	....	....
8. Aides are untrained	....	....

19. Do any of these problems apply in *your* school?

List number from Q.18

....

....

....

....

20. Any other comments?

....

....

....

Thank you for your co-operation.

PART B.

1. Would you like to have a bilingual aide in your school?

YES ....

NO ....

If YES, why?

....

....

....

2. Have you ever been involved in policy or decision making with respect to the employment of bilingual aides in your school or elsewhere?

YES ....

NO ....

If YES, please explain briefly.

....

....

....

3. To your knowledge, has the Principals' Association discussed the question of bilingual aides?

YES ....

NOT SURE ....

NO ....

Can you give any details?

....

....

4. To your knowledge, has the Principals' Association a policy on bilingual aides?

YES ....

NOT SURE ....

NO ....

Can you give any details?

....

....

5. Do you see a continuing need for bilingual aides in some Victorian schools?

YES ....

NOT SURE ....

NO ....

If YES, for how long?

5 years ....

10 years ....

Indefinitely ....

6. Do you think bilingual aides would be better replaced by bilingual teachers?

YES ....
NOT SURE ....
NO ....

Why?

....

....

7. Do you think bilingual aides should be supplemented by bilingual teachers?

YES ....
NOT SURE ....
NO ....

Why?

....

....

8. Do you think bilingual aides should receive training before or after they are employed?

Before	After
YES	YES ....
NO	NO ....
NOT SURE.......	NOT SURE.......

9. Have you ideas on what the training should be?

YES .... NO ....

If YES, e.g.

Length of training................
....
Where to be trained...............
....
Qualification ....
....
Courses at night ....
....
On the job ....
....
Time off for 1 year F/T................
....

10. Do you think bilingual aides should be given the opportunity to train to move into teaching positions eventually?

YES ....
NOT SURE ....
NO ....

If YES, what do you think is a satisfactory period of service prior to training?

....

....

11. Do you think students in schools would benefit from the employment of bilingual aides?

YES ....
NOT SURE .....
NO ....

If YES, indicate by a tick whether you think any of the following benefits would apply:

Helpful at the junior level ....
Provide emotional security ....
Help students' language ....
Help students to participate more fully at school ....
Any others? (specify)

....
....

12. How would you describe the job of a bilingual aide? ....

....
....
....
....
....

13. Do you agree/disagree with the following statements which may explain problems experienced in the employment of bilingual aides?

	AGREE	DISAGREE
1. Funds would be better used elsewhere	....	....
2. Teachers without aides become resentful	....	....
3. Aides themselves experience frustration in their jobs	....	....
4. Aides are not efficient	....	....
5. Parents object	....	....
6. Students object	....	....
7. Bilingual aides not appropriate in Australian schools	....	....
8. Aides are untrained	....	....

Any others?..
....

14. Any other comments? ....
....
....

Thank you for your co-operation.

LA TROBE UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

BILINGUAL AIDE STUDY

TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

In Part A, we would like to gain a little background information about you and then, in Part B, to ask you some questions about bilingual/ethnic teacher aides.

PART A.

1. Type of school
   Girls' High ....
   Boys' High ....
   Coed High ....

   Boys' Tech ....
   Coed Tech ....
   Primary ....

2. Male .... Female ....

3. Age group
   20-25 ....
   26-35 ....
   36-45 ....
   Over 45 ....

4. Position in school
   Assistant ....
   Assistant with responsibility...........
   Senior Teacher ....
   Vice-principal ....

5. Length of time in teaching -Less than 5 yrs ....
   5-10 years ....
   11-20 years ....
   More than 20 years ....

6.	Qualifications	Degree only	....
		Degree + Diploma	....
		Diploma only	....
		Certificate only	....
		Degree + Certificate	....
		Other	....
7.	Union membership	VTU	....
		VSTA	....
		TTAV	....
		Other	....
		None	....
8.	Numbers of Languages spoken	One	....
		Two	....
		Three	....
		More than three	....
9.	Country or region of origin	Australia	....
		East Europe	....
		West Europe	....
		British Isles	....
		North America	....
		South America	....
		Asia	....
		Africa	....
		Pacific incl.N.Z.	....

PART B.

1. Have you worked with a bilingual aide at any time?

Yes ....

No ....

2. Would you like to work with a bilingual aide?

Yes ....

No ....

N/A ....

3. Do you have a bilingual aide at your school?

Yes ....

No ....

4. Would you like to have a bilingual aide employed at your school?

Yes .... If yes, why?

....

....

No ....

N/A ....

5. Do you have a bilingual aide working with you?

Yes ....

No ....

6. Were you involved in the selection of the aide?

Yes ....

No ....

N/A ....

7. Were you involved in anyway (as an individual or member of an organisation) in the initial policy or decision to employ bilingual aides in -

(a) Victorian Schools?

Yes ....

No ....

(b) Your school?

Yes ....

No ....

8.	To your knowledge, has your union discussed the question of bilingual aides?	Yes .... No .... Can you give any details?	Not sure ....
9.	To your knowledge, does your union have a policy on bilingual aides?	Yes .... No .... Can you give any details?	Not sure ....
10.	Do you think bilingual aides should receive training before they are employed or after they are employed?	Before Yes .... No .... Not sure........	After Yes .... No .... Not sure.......
11.	Have you ideas on what sort of training aides could receive?	Length of training............... Where training obtained .... Qualification .... Courses at night............... Course 'on the job'............... Taken out of school for 1 yr F/T course............... Other ideas	
12.	Do you think bilingual aides should be given the opportunity to train to move into teaching positions eventually?	Yes .... No .... If yes, how long is a satisfacto period of service before training	Not sure ......

13. Would you say that the children in your school are benefitting from the employment of a bilingual aide?

Yes ....
N/A ....
No ....

If yes indicate whether any of the following benefits apply:

Helpful at junior level ....
Provide emotional security ....
Help students' language ....
Help students to participate more fully in school life ....
Other (specify) ....
....
....

14. Do you see a continuing need for bilingual aides in -

(i) some Victorian schools?
(ii) your school?

	(i)	(ii)
	Yes	Yes ....
	No	No ....

15. If yes to No.14, for how long?

	(i)	(ii)
	5 yrs	5 yrs ....
	10 yrs	10 yrs ....
	Indefinitely	Indefinitely.......

16. Do you think bilingual aides would be better replaced by bilingual teachers?

Yes ....
No ....
Not sure ....

Why? ....
....
....

17. Do you think bilingual aides should be supplemented by more widespread use of bilingual teachers?

Yes ....
No ....
Not sure ....

Why? ....
....
....

18. How would you describe the job of the bilingual aide?

....
....
....
....
....

19. Does your bilingual aide carry out the job you have outlined in Q.18?

Yes ....

N/A ....

No ....

If No, why not?

....

....

....

20. Do you agree/disagree with the following statements which may explain problems experienced in the employment of bilingual aides?

	Agree	Disagree
(a) Funds better used elsewhere.	....	....
(b) Teachers without aides become resentful.	....	....
(c) Aides themselves experience frustration in their jobs.	....	....
(d) Aides are not efficient.	....	....
(e) Parents object to aides.	....	....
(f) Students object to aides.	....	....
(g) Bilingual aides are not appropriate in Australian schools.	....	....
(h) Aides are untrained.	....	....

21. Do any of these problems apply in your school?

List number from Q. 20 .

....

....

....

....

N/A.........

Any others? ....

....

....

22. Any other comments?

....

....

....

Thank you for your co-operation.

LA TROBE UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

BILINGUAL AIDE STUDY

TEACHER AIDE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Sex
MALE ....
FEMALE.........

2. Marital status
MARRIED ....
NOT MARRIED ....
NEVER MARRIED ....

3. Year of birth
....

4. Country of birth
....

5. If you were born outside Australia, how long have you been here?
....
Born in Australia ....

6. What language(s) do you speak?
....
....
....
....

7. Do you live in the area in which you work (say, within 3 miles)?
YES ....
NO ....

8. Do you belong to any community organisations, e.g. ethnic group, parent group, Red Cross, church group, union? Please list them.
....
....
....
....
....

9. Name the school in which you are working.
....

10. In which suburb do you live?
....

11. Date of appointment ....

12. How did you learn about the job?

Advertisement ....
Community group ....
Teacher ....
Word of mouth ....
Via your children ....
Other(please specify).............
....

13. Why did you take this job?

More money ....
Personal reasons ....
Helping others ....
All of the above ....
Other(please specify).............
....
....

14. Do you see your job as a career or as short-term employment?

Career .... Not sure.........
Short-term ....
(Explain your answer if you wish)
....
....
....

15. Would you like to move into a teaching position eventually?

YES ....
NO ....

16. What did you expect of the bilingual aide job when you applied for it?

....
....
....
....
....

17. How satisfied have you been with the job so far?

Very satisfied ....
Fairly satisfied ....
Not satisfied ....
Not sure ....

18. What other jobs have you had in the last 10 years?

Year(s)	Type of Job
....	....
....	....
....	....
....	....
....	....
....	....

19. What is the highest level reached in your education?

Place a Tick (✓) in the appropriate place

Some primary ....
Completed primary ....
Some secondary ....
Completed secondary ....
Post-secondary (e.g.Technical College) ....
University ....

20. Did you have any training for the job as teacher aide prior to taking up your position?

YES .... (Describe briefly)
....
....
NO ....

21. Have you had any training for this job since you have been employed?

YES .... (Describe briefly)
....
....
....
NO ....

22. Would you like to have some training for this job?

YES .... (What sort of training?
....
....
....
NO ....

23. We would like to know just what you do in your job. Below are listed tasks an aide might do. For each task, would you tick either the first, second OR third column to indicate whether you often or sometimes carry out the task or never do.

	TASK	OFTEN	SOMETIMES	NEVER
A.	CLERICAL WORK			
1.	Duplicate materials for teachers	....	....	....
2.	Type materials for teachers	....	....	....
3.	Prepare displays	....	....	....
4.	Keep classroom materials in order	....	....	....
5.	Operate Audio Visual equipment	....	....	....
6.	Set up equipment (other than AV)	....	....	....
7.	Distribute, collect and file materials	....	....	....
8.	Type or duplicate materials for the school office	....	....	....
9.	Correct tests	....	....	....
10.	Keep attendance records	....	....	....
11.	Collect money	....	....	....
12.	Prepare class materials in ethnic language(s) for teachers	....	....	....
13.	Prepare notices to go home in ethnic language(s)	....	....	....
14.	Supervise class for a few minutes	....	....	....
B.	DIRECT STUDENT ASSISTANCE			
15.	Help individual students	....	....	....
16.	Take charge of a small group e.g. for conversation	....	....	....
17.	Provide information for teachers on individual students	....	....	....
18.	Take students on trips	....	....	....
19.	Take students on camps	....	....	....
20.	Supervise the playground	....	....	....

TASK	OFTEN	SOMETIMES	NEVER
21. Type materials for students	....	....	....
22. Prepare materials for students in ethnic language(s)	....	....	....
23. Duplicate materials for students	....	....	....
24. Set up equipment for students	....	....	....
25. Interpret/translate for students	....	....	....
C. PUBLIC RELATIONS			
26. Explain the community to the school e.g. at staff meetings	....	....	....
27. Explain the school to the community e.g. at parent meetings	....	....	....
28. Act as a liaison between the school and individual parents by home visiting	....	....	....
29. Interpret/translate for parents on school matters	....	....	....
30. Talk informally with parents about school matters	....	....	....
31. Interpret/translate for school on student and home matters	....	....	....
D. PLANNING			
32. Contribute ideas to the instructional program	....	....	....
33. Contribute ideas to the extra curricular program	....	....	....
34. Plan own work schedule day by day	....	....	....
35. Initiate activities in the classroom	....	....	....
36. Organise work experience for students	....	....	....

E. ANY OTHER ACTIVITIES? (Please write them in)

....

....

....

....

....

24. If you were free to choose, on which tasks would you prefer to spend most time?

Insert letters (A-E) from Question 23.

Write down the letters in Order

Most preferred tasks ....
....
....
....
Least preferred tasks ....

25. What part of your job do you enjoy MOST? (Tick (✓) one only)

Clerical ....
Student Assistance ....
Public Relations ....
Planning ....
Other ....

26. What part of your job do you enjoy LEAST? (Tick (✓) one only)

Clerical ....
Student Assistance ....
Public Relations ....
Planning ....
Other ....

27. Do you think you enable teachers to devote more time to teaching?

YES ....
NOT SURE ....
NO ....

28. Do you think you are used effectively at the school?

YES ....
NOT SURE ....
NO ....

(If NO, can you suggest reasons why not?)

....
....
....

29. Do you feel accepted by:

(a) the teaching staff? YES .... NO .... NOT SURE ....

(b) the students? YES .... NO .... NOT SURE ....

(c) the parents? YES .... NO .... NOT SURE ....

30. Any other comments?

....

....

....

....

....

Thank you for your co-operation.

LA TROBE UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

POLITICAL FIGURES

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

NAME: ______________________________

POSITION: ______________________________

LENGTH OF TIME IN POSITION: ______________________________

LANGUAGE(S) OTHER THAN ENGLISH SPOKEN? ______________________________

____

EVER HAD POSITION IN AN EDUCATION SYSTEM? ______________________________

____

FORMAL EDUCATION OBTAINED IN AUSTRALIA OR OVERSEAS? ______________________________

____

PARTY AFFILIATION? ______________________________

INVOLVEMENT IN ETHNIC COMMUNITY AFFAIRS? ______________________________

____

____

ANY SPECIAL INTEREST IN ETHNIC OR/AND EDUCATIONAL ISSUES? ______________________________

____

____

____

____

CONCERNING THE ETHNIC OR BILINGUAL AIDE ISSUE.

1. Knowledge of circumstances surrounding the decision to implement the scheme, the policy developed, the actual mechanism of implementation?

   - Who initiated?
   - Why?
   - When?
   - Was it part of a broader issue?
   - What financial support was made available?
   - What was the relation between the Federal and State Bodies involved?
   - Was it envisaged as a long-term (permanent) feature of the educational system?
   - Was it seen as a form of community involvement to be encouraged?
   - Was it seen as an example of differentiated staffing to be supported?
   - Where was the responsibility placed for:
     - .. continued funding
     - .. size of the ethnic aide workforce
     - .. training of ethnic aides
     - .. employment of ethnic aides
     - .. establishing conditions of employment for ethnic aides
     - .. accountability measures
     - .. review of the scheme
     - .. changes in the scheme
     - .. termination of the scheme

Documents?

Access?

Other informants?

2. How successful has the scheme been?

   - has this been assessed?
   - how many have been employed?
   - are numbers expanding/contracting?
   - feedback from teachers' organisations, parent and ethnic organisations, Department of Education?

3. Are any significant changes in policy foreshadowed for 1978-79, and does your government/party favour changes in policy in this period?

4. Does your government/party favour

   - replacement of ethnic aides by bilingual teachers?
   - supplementing ethnic aides with wider use of bilingual teachers?

5. Does your government/party envisage a continuing need for ethnic aides?

   - for how long?
   - what conditions will favour the retention of the scheme?

6. Does your government/party favour definite moves to increase opportunities for successful ethnic aides to train to become "proper" teachers?

7. What problems (actual and potential) does your government/party see in the employment of ethnic aides?

8. What does your government/party see as the job of the ethnic aide?

9. Any other comments?

Thank you for your co-operation.

LA TROBE UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION OFFICIALS

1. Official designation of this division of the Department of Education.

2. Official designation of this official's position.

3. Name (including any title, e.g. Dr.)

4. Length of time in the position.

5. Do you speak any language(s) other than English? Which ones?

6. Were you born in Australia?

7. Did you take any of your formal education outside Australia?

8. Do you have any involvement with migrant work outside the Department?

With respect to bilingual aides:

9. What was the date of introduction of bilingual aides to Victoria?

10. By what mechanism was this new position created?

11. Did the bilingual aide scheme originate in:

Pressure group action - the 'pet' scheme of a particular individual,
Or, the recommendation of a consultative committee or task force

at the Federal, or

State level

____

____

____

____

12. What was the source of the bilingual aide scheme:

- overseas models?
- some scheme already operating in Australia?
- a brand-new innovation devised in Australia?

____

____

13. How can we obtain detailed and accurate information on the following matters relating to the employment of bilingual aides?

(a) Funding

____

____

(b) Recruitment

____

____

(c) Guidelines to schools

____

____

(d) Ceilings on numbers

____

____

(e) Payment

____

____

(f) Worker's compensation

(g) Duration of employment

(h) Conditions of leave

(i) Job specifications

Specifically for the year 1978.

(j) Numbers of aides employed in Victoria?

(k) Where employed?

(l) Changes in salary scales?

(m) Changes in costing/funding for scheme?

(n) Any anticipated expansion/contraction of numbers of positions?

(o) Any indications of significant policy changes in the future of the bilingual aide policy?

14. How does your section of the Department view the role of the bilingual aide?

15. Is your section of the Department satisfied with the scheme?

16. What problems (actual and potential) does your section of the Department see in the employment of bilingual aides?

17. Does your section of the Department favour training for bilingual aides before or after their employment in schools?

18. If answer to Q. 9 is positive, what are the views of your section of the Department on the type of training appropriate for bilingual aides?

19. Does your section of the Department favour making opportunities available for bilingual aides to train to move into teaching positions eventually?

20. Does your section of the Department think that bilingual aides should be replaced by bilingual teachers?

21. Does your section of the Department think that bilingual aides should be supplemented by the wider use of bilingual teachers?

22. How does your section of the Department see the future of the bilingual aide scheme?

23. Would you section of the Department be in favour of the unionization of aides?

24. Have there been any discussions between your section of the Department and teacher unions on the bilingual aide issue?

25. Does your section of the Department see the employment of bilingual aides as a significant form of community-school involvement?

26. Does your section of the Department favour this form of involvement?

27. Is the bilingual aide scheme seen as primarily Federal, State or Community responsibility?

28. Has your section of the Department had any discussions with parent organizations on the employment of bilingual aides?

29. Has your section of the Department had any discussions with ethnic organizations on the employment of bilingual aides?

30. Any other comments?

Thank you for your co-operation.

LA TROBE UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

REPRESENTATIVES OF UNIONS, PARENTS' AND ETHNIC ASSOCIATIONS

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Name of Organisation
2. Position person holds
3. Name (including designation - Mr. Ms.)
4. How long has the person been in the position?
5. How long has the organisation been established?
6. Is the respondent's position a full-time position? YES ______ NO ______
7. What is his/her job in private life?
8. Does he/she speak any language(s) other than English? Find out what they are
9. Was he/she born in Australia? (If not, how long has he/she been in Australia?) Where?
10. Did he/she receive any of his/her formal education in Australia?

	YES	NO
Primary	______	______
Secondary	______	______
Post-secondary	______	______
University	______	______

11. Has he/she been involved in anyway as an individual in the initial policy or decision making on the employment of bilingual aides in Victorian schools?

REFERRING TO THE ORGANISATION.

1. Has the Association discussed the issue of bilingual aides?

   Give details?

2. Has the Association a policy on bilingual aides?

   Can we obtain a copy?
   Could you briefly summarize the main points?

3. Has the Association been involved in any way with the initial policy or decision making on the employment of bilingual aides in Victorian schools?

   Give details?

   Dates?

   Committees?

4. Do you know how bilingual aides are funded?

5. Do you know how bilingual aides are recruited?

6. Do you know what control schools have over the conditions and terms of employment of aides?

7. Does your organisation have any direct or indirect control over the conditions and terms of employment of aides?

8. Is your organisation in favour of training for bilingual aides before employment or after employment?

	BEFORE		AFTER
YES	______	YES	______
NO	______	NO	______

9. Does your organisation have views on what the training of bilingual aides should be?

   YES ______

   NO ______

   If yes, ask for details

10. Does your organisation see a continuing need for bilingual aides?

    YES ______

    NO ______

11. Do you think bilingual aides would be better replaced by bilingual teachers?

    YES ______

    NO ______

    Why?

12. Does your organisation think bilingual aides should be supplemented by more widespread use of bilingual teachers?	YES ______ NO ______ Why?
13. Does your organisation think that bilingual aides should be given the opportunity to train to move into teaching positions eventually?	YES ______ NO ______ Please explain your view
14. Would you say that children in schools benefit from the employment of bilingual aides?	YES ______ NO ______ Please explain your view
15. Is your organisation actively involved in promoting the employment of, or working against the employment of bilingual aides?	ACTIVE YES ______ NO ______ FOR ______ AGAINST ______ Can you give reasons if your organisation is active in either way?
16. Does your organisation favour the unionization of bilingual aides?	YES ______ NO ______ Please explain your views
17. How would your organisation describe the task of the bilingual teacher aide?	Ask for details.
18. Has your organisation any views on whether bilingual aides presently employed are carrying out the task as you have outlined?	Ask for details.
19. What does your organisation see as problems (actual or potential) in the employment of bilingual aides?	Ask for details
20. Has your organisation had any discussions with the Department of Education about bilingual aides?	Ask for details.

21. Has your organisation had any discussions with other bodies on the issue of bilingual aides?

e.g. Federal Dept. of Education
Schools Commission
Other Ethnic Organisations
Teachers' Unions
Other

22. Any other comments?

Thank you for your co-operation.

APPENDIX 3

THE INTERVIEW SAMPLE

INTERVIEWEES

1. Political figures (or their designated representatives)

Sen. J. Carrick	Commonwealth Minister for Education
Mr. R. Fordham	Deputy Leader of Opposition (Victoria) Shadow Minister for Education
Mr. W. Jona	Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (Victoria)
Mr. L. Thompson	Minister for Education (Victoria)
Mr. F. Wilkes	Leader of Opposition (Victoria) Shadow Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs

2. Federal public servants (including Schools Commission and Commissioners for Community Relations)

Mr. S. Albert	Chairman, National Aboriginal Education Committee
Mr. C. Beltz	Commonwealth Department of Education, First Assistant Secretary - Education Planning Group
Mr. D. Fowler	Commonwealth Department of Education, Director of Language Teaching Branch
Mr. A. Grassby	Commissioner for Community Relations
Ms. C. Greenham	Commonwealth Department of Education, Research Assistant - Inter-Departmental Working Party on Multicultural Education in Australia
Mr. J. Houston	Commissioner for Community Relations - staff
Mr. B. Maichen	Commonwealth Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Assistant Secretary - Migrant Education Branch
Mr. T. Ohlsson	Commonwealth Department of Education, Editor, Education News
Ms. P. Polites	Schools Commission, Consultant - Migrant and Multicultural Education

Ms. F. Stern	Commonwealth Department of Education, Secretary - Management Group
Mr. E. Willmot	Former Senior Education Officer - Commonwealth Department of Education (now lecturer, Canberra C.A.E.)

3. A.C.T. Schools Authority

Mr. B. Donovan	Principal Education Officer - Planning Branch
Mr. D. Stewart	Multiculturalism Consultant - Assistant Principal Education Officer

4. New South Wales

Ms. N. Cooper	Research Officer, New South Wales Teachers' Federation
Mr. P. Mathews	Director, Child Migrant Education, N.S.W. Department of Education
Ms. R. Strong	Teacher in Charge, N.S.W. Department of Education, Language Reception Centre for Secondary Migrant Students

5. Victorian Education Department

Mr. I. Adams	Assistant Director, Special Services (Ethnic Education)
Mr. W. Bainbridge	Assistant Regional Director, Central Region
Dr. R. Chapman	Assistant Director, Planning Services Division, Chairman Supplementary Grants Committee (Victoria)
Dr. P. Creed	Acting Assistant Director of Teacher Education
Ms. A. Goding	Co-ordinator Multicultural Resources Section, Special Services Division, Counselling, Guidance and Clinical Services
Mr. Hennessy	Assistant Regional Director, Western Metropolitan Region
Mr. A. Humphries	Head, Child Migrant Education -
Mr. R. McLeod	Assistant Director, Primary Education Division

Mr. L. Miles	Preston Regional Office
Mr. R. Roberts	Superintendent, Collingwood Education Centre
Mr. D. Sinclair	Victorian Director of Supplementary Grants Program (Schools Commission)
Mr. J. Ward	Executive Officer, V.E.D. Standing Committee for Technical School Libraries
Mr. K. Watts	Director of Technical Division

6. Other organisations and unions

Australian Arab Association
    Dr. W. Mirza, President

Australian Greek Welfare Society
    Mr. S. Piperoglou, Director, Education Liaison Team

Australian Turkish Cultural Organisation
    Mr. G. Koyonoglu, Welfare Rights Worker

Catholic Education Office
    Mr. P. Suhr, Migrant Education Officer
    Ms. G. Taylor, Migrant Education Advisory Teacher

COASIT
    Mr. Martini, Manager

Ecumenical Migration Centre
    Mr. M. Liffman, Director
    Ms. D. Batzias; Ms. P. Jamieson

Miscellaneous Workers' Union
    Mr. Hogan, Secretary

Muslim Teacher Association of Victoria
    Executive Committee Member

Richmond Community Education Centre
    Ms. N. Joffe, Social Worker

Technical Teachers' Association of Victoria
    Ms. P. Seagull, Research Officer
    Ms. A. Herd, Information Welfare Officer

Victorian Association for Multicultural Education
    Mr. A. McNight, President

Victorian Association of Teachers
    Ms. L. Meo, President

Victorian Association of Teachers of English
    Ms. M. Stewart, Executive Officer

Victorian Council of School Organisations
    Ms. U. Hodson, Executive Secretary

Victorian Federation of S.S. Parents Club
    Ms. J. Kirner, Executive Officer

Victorian High School Principals' Association
    Mr. D. Davies, Principal, Thomastown High School

Victorian Teachers Union
    Policy Development Officer

LOCATION OF SCHOOLS IN ETHNIC AIDE STUDY

Key:

+ Primary Schools

▲ High Schools

○ Technical Schools

Note: The map is drawn to scale with the exception of the insert, showing a south-east section including Clayton and Dandenong, which has been reduced by one-third.

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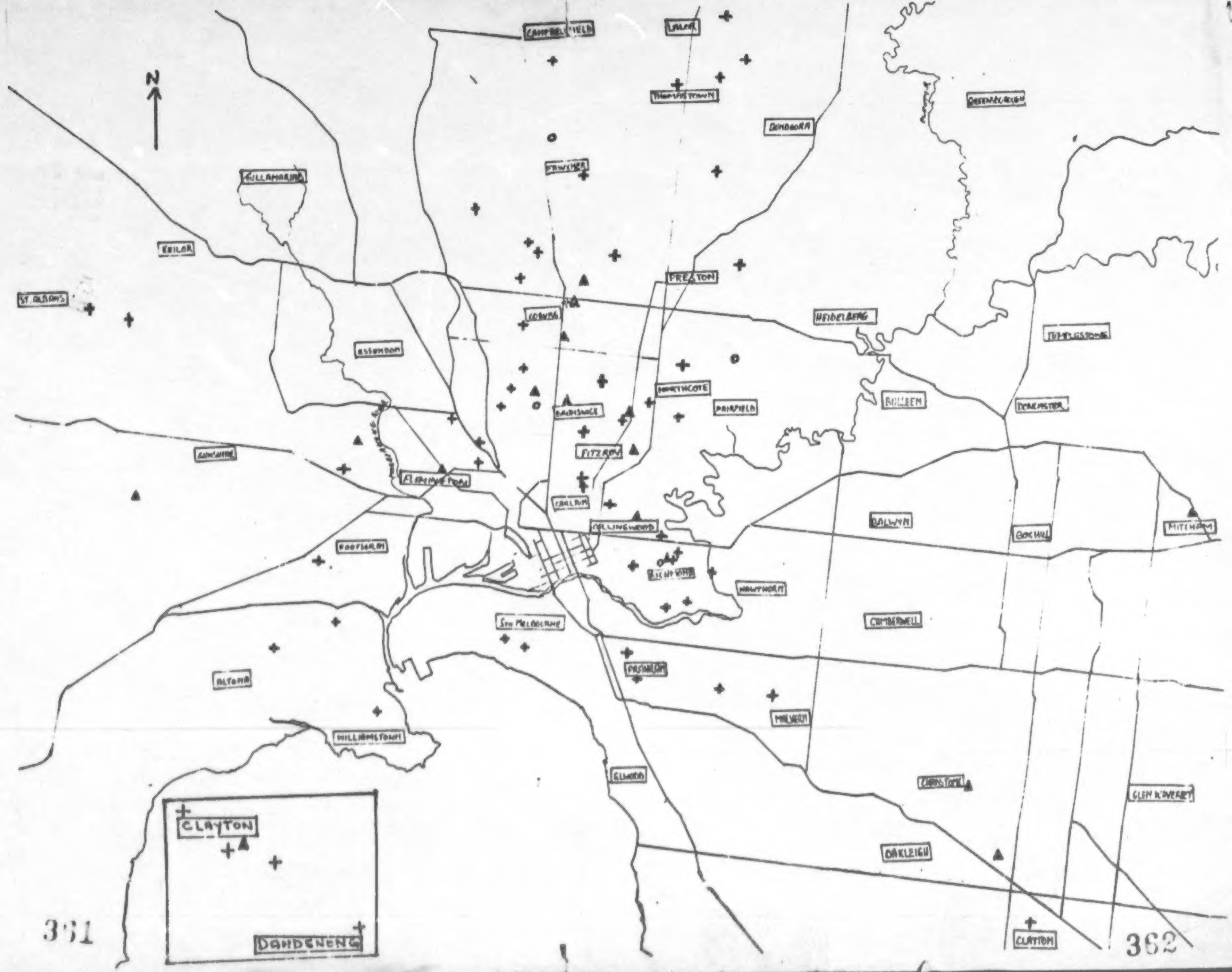
N
CAMPBELLFIELD
LALOR
THOMASTOWN
BUNDOORA
GREENSBOROUGH
FAWKNER
TULLAMARINE
KEILOR
ST. ALBANS
PRESTON
HEIDELBERG
COBURG
ESSENDON
TEMPLESTOWE
NORTHCOTE
FAIRFIELD
BULLEEN
BRUNSWICK
DONCASTER
FITZROY
SUNSHINE
FLEMINGTON
CARLTON
COLLINGWOOD
BALWYN
BOX HILL
MITCHAM
FOOTSCRAY
RICHMOND
HAWTHORN
STH MELBOURNE
CAMBERWELL
PRAHRAN
ALTONA
MALVERN
WILLIAMSTOWN
ELWOOD
CHADSTONE
GLEN WAVERLEY
OAKLEIGH
CLAYTON
DANDENONG
CLAYTON